

Barbarian Cruelty ;

Or, an Accurate and Impartial

N A R R A T I V E

O F

The unparalleled Sufferings and almost
incredible Hardships

O F T H E

BRITISH CAPTIVES,

BELONGING TO

The *Inspector* Privateer, Capt. *Rd. Veale*,

D U R I N G

Their Slavery under *Muley Abdallah*, Emperor
of *Fez* and *Morocco*, from *Jan.* 1745-6, to
their happy Deliverance, by the Bounty of
King George II. administred by *William*
Latton, Esq. Ambassador to *Morocco*, in
December, 1750.

Originally published by T. TROUGHTON, of London ;

Now republished by TIMOTHY LE. BEAU, of Exeter,
his Fellow-Sufferer, in that dreadful Captivity.

E X E T E R :

Printed and sold (for the Editor) by T. BRICE, opposite
the Elephant-Inn, North-Street, 1787.

X A59,419

JOHN RYLANDS
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY OF
MANCHESTER

K



P R E F A C E.

AS no earthly Blessing is more precious than Liberty; and as no People possess it more eminently, or know how to esteem it more justly, than **TRUE BRITONS**; the Contents of the following Sheets cannot fail of being truly affecting to our Readers. Born and educated under the mild and equitable Government of the Laws, (of which the King himself is not a Master, but the Minister) the Sentiments of Benevolence and Humanity, and a Detestation of Tyranny and Despotism, become natural Principles in a British Bosom. A Public thus principled will be deeply touched by this affecting Narrative of real and indisputable Facts, related by an unfortunate Sufferer under the wild and untameable Ferocity of a Barbarian, whose wretched Subjects knew no Law but his licentious Will, and whose Dictates, however irrational and inhuman, must on no Pretext be disobeyed.

The Truth of this Narrative is established by the following Attestations, given by the Persons who survived the Five Years Miseries of their horrid Captivity.

A F F I D A V I T.

THOMAS TROUGHTON, of Golden-Lane, in the Parish of St. Luke, Middlesex, Plaisterer, maketh Oath and saith, that, in October 1745, he, this Deponent, shipped himself on board the Inspector Privateer, Capt. Richard Veale, Commander; and was shipwrecked on the Coast of Barbary, the 4th of January 1745-6; and was there detained Prisoner, with upwards of eighty other Christian Slaves, until the 8th of December 1750, at which Time, he, this Deponent, with the Remainder of the Slaves, was released by William Latton, Esq. his Majesty's Ambassador to the Emperor of Fez and Morocco, and arrived at Portsmouth, the 22d March 1751, on board his Majesty's Ship the Blandford.

And this Deponent further saith, that he has given a just and true Account of all the Hardships and grievous Sufferings, which he, this Deponent, and the rest of the Christian Slaves, underwent

went

P R E F A C E.

v

*went during the whole Time of their Slavery:
Likewise a Description of the Country and its
Inhabitants, with their Methods of punishing
the Christian Slaves.*

THOMAS TROUGHTON.

*Sworn before me, this 22d of April, 1751, at
Justice-Hall, in the Old-Bailey.*

F. COKAYNE, Mayor.

Witness T. Edwards

John Sinklair

A T T E S T A T I O N.

WE, whose Names are undersigned, Part
of the Crew of the Inspector Privateer
of London, Capt. Veale, Commander, who were
shipwrecked in Tangier-Bay, on the Barbary
Coast, on the 4th of January, 1745-6, and
afterwards became Slaves to the Moors, under
Muley Abdallah, Emperor of Fez and Mo-
rocco, till we were ransomed by his present
Majesty King George, in December last;
having perused and examined the Manuscript
Copy of the Account of our unparalleled and
almost incredible Distresses and Sufferings during
near Five Years Captivity, by Thomas Trough-
ton, and other Accounts delivered by many of us,
do

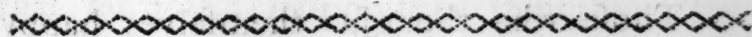
*do unanimously approve of the same, and do aver,
that the Incidents therein related are Facts, with-
out Exaggerations to represent our Cases more
deplorable than they really were. As witness
our Hands, this 7th of May, 1751.*

Ozborn Noble, *Carpenter*
Wm. Lucas, *Surgeon's Mate*
Thomas Troughton
John Haynes
Arthur Price's † *Mark*
Thomas Hughes's † *Mark*
James Macdonald
Mugford Dampier
Tho. Lawson's † *Mark*
Thomas Chapman
William Scotney
Charles Porcas
Robert Ray
John Gifford
Alexander Scott
Thomas Searl
Peter Bouhier
Thomas James
John Cannon
Samuel Morris
Christopher Graham
TIMOTHY LE BEAU



A. T R U E

N A R R A T I V E, &c.



WE sailed out of the Downs, on the 24th of October 1745, on a cruise; and having met with pretty good success, by taking two prizes, pursued our course as far as the Streights of Gibraltar, into which we entered about the 1st of January in the year following. The next day in a very brisk gale our ship sprang a leak; and notwithstanding our utmost endeavours, by plying our pumps night and day, it was with the greatest difficulty imaginable that we kept her above water till the 4th; at which time all our efforts failing us, and finding that she would inevitably sink in a very short time, we ran her aground in Tangier Bay, where we were in hopes, that, under our present calamity, we should find a favourable reception and
imme-

immediate relief from the Moors, as the emperor of Morocco was at that time under a treaty of peace with the British court; but alas! to our no small mortification, we found our hopes entirely frustrated; and instead of finding friends in our distress, the most inhuman Moors came down upon us, like ravenous beasts ready to devour their prey.

Those who thought themselves happy in reaching the shore with their lives, were used by the Moors with the utmost barbarity, and stripp'd of every rag they had about them; and some, who presumed to make the smallest resistance, were without the least mercy immediately butchered or drowned.

A small number of us, indeed, got into the town before night, which is a sea-port of Africa, situate at the entrance of the Streights of Gibraltar, in the empire of Morocco, and kingdom of Fez; others lay without the walls all night; and as the season was then very sharp and inclement, the miseries of cold and hunger were added to the barbarous treatment they otherwise met with.

Twelve of our unhappy crew continued on the wreck all night, where they spent their melancholy hours in doleful outcries, expecting

expecting every moment to be swallowed up by the roaring waves, which swell'd like mountains, and broke almost every minute over their heads.

Providence, however, thought proper to preserve them from the impending danger; for in the morning they were brought ashore by a boat, which the Moors sent out for that purpose. Happy they thought themselves in a prospect of relief; but no sooner were the poor half-perished wretches got into the Moors boat, than these unmercifully stripped them of every thing that was of the least value, and insulted them to the last degree, calling them Christian Dogs and Unbelievers, fellows that deserved no mercy; tho' the Moors had at the same time a sufficient recompence for their trouble.

Out of the whole crew, amounting to 183, 96 perished in the waves, or were killed in endeavouring to get on shore---happily thus delivered from the hardships, which the survivors afterwards underwent.

Eighty-seven of us, the whole remains of our unhappy crew, with great difficulty got permission to go to the British consul's house in a body, in order to communicate our unhappy case and get some subsistence.

The consul being at Gibraltar, we applied to his deputy ; but after continuing six days in a most deplorable condition, some almost naked, and many desperately wounded by the Moors, we received no comfort or consolation from that quarter.

Before we proceed further, it may be proper to give a list of our crew, that the friends of those who were drowned or perished otherwise may know what became of them.

List of those who were drowned or murdered by the Moors, when the ship was wrecked, being 96 in number.

John Judges, gunner
John Mountjoy, boatswain
Richard Ruffel, surgeon
Tho. Finmore, his mate
James Ross, master's mate
John Hunt, ditto
W. Gale, carpenter's mate
W. Hickman, midshipman
George Buckmaster, ditto
Francis Goodfellow, ditto
Michael Dellaynee, ditto
H. Rogers, boatsw. mate
John Sheppard, armourer
Ingram Chandler
William Smith
James Meadmore
John Eves
James Buoy
William Triggs
William Dolphin
Thomas Wallis

Joseph Miles
James Hayes
James Current
Joseph Bowman
Richard Monton
William Whitethread
William Flinton
John Pearce
William Bradshaw
Robert Coney
Francis Morris
John Adams
William Haynes
Anthony Johnson
Matthias Boatman
Coart Johnson
Richard Wedger
Henry Curtice
Gray Hardy
James Simson
Robert Stanion

George

George Clarke
 Thomas Graham
 James Guy
 Dennis Settry
 Bartholomew Darroty
 John Marshall
 Laurence Longgreen
 John Hill
 William Barker
 William Baker
 William Meads
 Patrick Macguire
 Stephen Clements
 Robert Robinson
 William Breedon
 John Savage
 Philip Munlefs
 Tobias Rutler
 Charles Harriot
 Richard Berryman
 William Maskfield
 Abraham Declaw
 William Christmas
 Charles Sharp
 Richard Sutton

Francis Mafon
 James Stone
 Jacob Elles
 Richard Carder
 William Meadmore
 George Pomphret
 Thomas James
 Richard Groves
 Nicholas Hickman
 George Thomson
 Joseph Harley
 John Michael
 Francis White
 Daniel Stringer
 Robert Scullthrup
 Edmund Smith
 Thomas Linnet
 John Tyler
 John Holland
 Aaron Robinson
 James Martin
 John Moss
 Peter Pott, purser
 And 6 more, whose names
 were omitted in the list.

List of those that escaped the wreck, being 87.

These 7 escaped slavery.
 Richard Veale, captain
 Wm. Johnson, lieutenant
 Wm. Mallet, ditto
 John Stott, ditto
 Michael Todd, lieutenant
 John Clarke
 Philip Obrien

*These 22 were released from
 slavery March 1748-9.*
 Edward Hutchins
 William Earl
 John Linguist
 Thomas Jones, a Black

Kinsbe Betten
 Arthur Price
 John Haynes
 Thomas Pearce
 William Hudson
 John Trott
 Thomas Lawson
 Thomas Bell
 John Giblon
 George Edger
 John Croak
 Ephraim Moore
 James Wells
 John Buckland
 James Pridham

Richard Goff
Joseph Bartie
Alexander Hamilton

Emanuel Rochester

*These 24 were released from
slavery Dec. 1750.*

Osborn Noble, carpenter
Tho. Nelson, midshipman
Wm. Lucas, surgeon's mate
John Price, steward
Charles Milson
Thomas Troughton
Thomas Jones
Thomas James
John Gifford
Thomas Hughes
Christopher Graham
Peter Bouhier
Henry Roseworn
William Spurl
William Barker
Timothy Le Beau
Thomas Chapman
Charles Porcas
Mugford Dampier
John Cannon
Alexander Scot
James Macdonald
William Scotney
Thomas Searl
Samuel Morris

These 8 died in the country.

George Kilbs, master

John Parlow
Francis Strong
Benjamin Barton
John Neal
David Foster
John Torrington
William Richards

These 21 turned Mahometans.

Richard Marlow
Stephen Barlow
John Meekings
Thomas With
Joseph Gingell
Thomas Mears
Hercules Birk
Peter Carter
John Amous
Thomas Mitchell
John Howell
John Armatage, a Black
George Hall
William Steward
Thomas Saint
John Matthew
Richard Black
Daniel Crawley
John Draycoat
John Butler
Henry Drew

*These 4 were stopt by the em-
peror, to be presented to his
majesty without ransom.*

Edward Fitzgerald
Thomas Stanton
George Beale

John Smith, born at Tetu-
an, went thither after he
got ashore.

List of those who left the ship before the wreck.

Left at Lisbon, on board the Black Cat, our prize.

John Verrel John Morris, linguist

Left

Left at Gibraltar, on board La Bella Morea, another prize.

Tho. Slugbrough John Primrose Geo. Sampson

Ran away at Lisbon.

Cornelius Sullivan Thomas Webb Peter Cousins
Francis Morris John Planton

Ran away at Gibraltar.

Jervis Houbert William Bennet Tho. Macneal
John Reynolds Nicholas Cormack

Put on board the Rupert for mutiny.

Daniel Gillet George Sampson

Died on board.

John Dennis Nicholas Maxfield Edward Holland
Aaron Robertson

Persons in Barbary before our shipwreck.

Redeemed with us.

Thomas Belfon Felix Connaway Robert Ray
Timothy Sullivan Peter Milton

Turned Mahometans.

John Allen John Spicer James Towns James M'Gee
Jeremiah Rowland Nich. Sykes Simon M'Kenzie
John Wright Cha. Lazenby Benj. Berkley

Mr. Petticrew, the consul, who was at Gibraltar when the wreck happened, came over in the Phoenix man of war a few days afterwards, and went to the alcaide to obtain liberty for us to go to Gibraltar; but his reply was, that he could not grant it without orders from the emperor. Upon this, Mr. Petticrew sent us word, that he would give us ropes to descend from the walls of the town

town at night, and carry us off in a letter that should be ready to receive us.

Soon after this, we received the mortifying news, that there were no hopes of our getting out of the country; and that a state of slavery would be our portion, till the British government had discharged an old debt, claimed by the emperor, for the ransom of a number of British captives, who had been delivered to John Leonard Sollicoffe, esq. and returned to England about seventeen years since.

This information was received by the officers before the rest; and they lost no time in escaping, which they happily effected by means of the Phoenix's barge, the captain having sent it to shore well manned and armed for the purpose.

The officers imagining that an attempt to escape all together, being so numerous, might endanger their own liberty, sent us advice to lay still, and the consul would next day carry us off with flying colours.

Thus escaped our captain, his three lieutenants, and the lieutenant of marines; and after these had got on board the Phoenix, the captain sent a boat in the night, to ply along shore and carry off as many of us as they

they could find. But we were now all put into goal, except Philip Obrian and James Clarke, who had luckily secreted themselves under a rock, and being left without the walls, were taken in by the boat.

No sooner had the barge got the officers about a musquet-shot from shore, but the town of Tangier was alarmed; and finding part of their booty irrecoverably lost, the Moors surrounded us, and breathed revenge for their disappointment. We were accordingly drove to the town-goal with every mark of infamy and reproach.

We cannot possibly convey to the mind of the reader an adequate idea of the goal to which we were hurried. The cells at Newgate, destined to receive the most atrocious criminals, could not stand in competition with this loathsome place.

The consul having abandoned us, we knew not where to seek the least redress. The poor pittance that had been allowed us at first, was stopt, and we had nothing but death before our eyes. For near three days successively we received no manner of sustenance; and the alcaide, or governor of the town, was so cruel and hard-hearted, that when our deplorable state and condition

was

was laid before him, he only answered with a smile, *If the unbelieving dogs are hungry, let them eat the stones.*

One, however, who had some share of humanity in him, and was not so much a barbarian as the alcaide, pleaded in our favour, and procured a licence for us to beg in the day-time, with a guard to follow us about the town.

Though this, doubtless, was an act of indulgence, yet were the inhabitants endowed with so little charity or compassion, and our subsistence was so small and indifferent, that when one of us accidentally succeeded, the others were ready to tear him to pieces for part. Such animosities amongst fellow-sufferers favour somewhat indeed of that inhumanity we are inveighing against; but necessity has no law, and absolute hunger must plead our excuse. Every night, however, we were obliged to return with reluctance to our dark and dismal dungeons.

In this deplorable condition we continued above two months, begging all day, and laying closely confined on the hard stones all night; and we were drove to the brink of despair, being told we should shortly be conducted to the emperor, whose presence we dreaded. Conscious of his arbitrary and
despotic

despotic power, we unanimously agreed, if it were possible, to break out and make our escape, before a command should be issued out for our journey up the country, in order to be reviewed by him.

Accordingly we made the attempt, but were unhappily discovered.

After such an act of rebellion (as they termed it) we could not reasonably expect any future indulgences; nor were any shewn us; for immediately large iron chains were lock'd round our necks, and twenty of us were link'd together in one chain.

Before this additional misfortune arose, we imagined our miseries too heavy for any mortal to bear; but no man, on this side the grave, can form any idea of what afflictions he can sustain, till put to the trial.

However deplorable our case was before, it was now much worse. We were deprived of sustenance, locked up in a dungeon where little day-light entered, and began to entertain thoughts of killing one of the company by lot, for support of the rest. No words can express the shock such a proposal gave us. The thing, however, was (thank God) never put into execution; and we all happily survived this confinement, tho' so hunger-

pinched, that each of us was ready to eat the flesh from his own bones. On our complaining to the gaoler, that most of us were perishing with hunger, he remonstrated to the town's people, who sent eight small sheep to us, with two little cakes for each man. Two of the sheep we instantly devoured without dressing, having been four days and nights without food.

Mr. Petticrew, the consul, being at Gibraltar, the alcaide sent up to the emperor, Muley Abdallah, to know what he must do with us. Orders were returned, that he, the late bashaw's sons, and other principals of the town, should bring us under a proper guard to Bufcoran, distant about 200 English miles, where he would receive us in his camp.

On the 16th of May, after we had been four months at Tangier, Mr. Petticrew returned from Gibraltar, and entreated the governor that we might not be carried to the emperor, till the arrival of his excellency William Latton, esq. ambassador from his Britannic majesty, who was daily expected. The alcaide refused to do this, unless Mr. Petticrew would go with him to the emperor, and satisfy his majesty that the ambassador
was

was so shortly to arrive ; but this Mr. Petticrew declined, saying, he had no orders so to do, nor any present for the emperor.

On the 18th of May, about nine in the morning, we were drove out of the prison unchained, and conducted without the town-walls, a guard being set over us. There we continued till the governor, the late bashaw's sons, &c. came to us ; and about eleven o'clock we proceeded on our journey to Buscoran.

This day we marched about 10 miles ; and at night our guard, being about 300 men, encamped in a circular form. We lay on the ground, like a flock of sheep, in the center, the sky being our only canopy.

Next day we travelled about 35 miles to Arzelah, a small walled town on the sea-coast ; where we were quartered in the Jews houses, and lay on the bare boards ; but this was better than the preceding night's lodging in open camp.

As soon as day-light appeared, we were roused ; and proceeded, tho' very fore-footed and lame, along the coast about 25 miles, to a walled sea-port, called Larach. There we continued for twelve days in the town-prison.

During our three days march, bread and water were our only allowance; and we were greatly distressed even for the latter in our journey from Arzelah to Larach.

The reason of our stay at Larach was, that a messenger was sent to the emperor, to know if it was his pleasure that the governor of Larach should accompany the governor of Tangier. Accordingly the caliph, or town-major, and part of the guard of Larach, were ordered to attend us.

On the 2d of June, early in the morning, we proceeded for Bufcoran, encamping every night; and we lay on the ground without covering as before. The fourth night we reached a small town called Cedee Castle, where we lay in a meadow by the side of a river; and on the 9th of June we arrived at the emperor's camp at Bufcoran.

On our arrival within half a mile of the emperor's tent, 10 miles from Mequinez, we staid half an hour, waiting his commands to be drawn up before him. During this time, the countenances of the alcaide and others shewed that something dreadful was expected from the emperor. Indeed, it is customary for the Moorish subjects, though at a considerable distance from the sovereign,
not

not to converse aloud, but to lay their heads close and whisper.

Just before the messenger came from the emperor, the alcaide and chiefs of our guard ranged themselves in a line, and, according to their mode, prayed in the most devout manner. The alcaide and several others wept much; which made us imagine that the miseries we had before expected were not half so terrible as those that were ready to befall us.

After they arose from prayer, a messenger from the emperor commanded them before his tent. They immediately got themselves in order, drawn up in one line, and placed us in another. The Moors proceeded bare-footed, and we bare-footed and bare-headed. The ground being overgrown with prickly weeds, we, who were unused to walk without shoes, suffered inexpressible pain, and continued lame for a considerable time.

We halted about the distance of sixty paces from the emperor's tent; and the guards immediately surrounded us. A few minutes after, his majesty came forth and mounted his horse; and the sun being excessively hot, an umbrella was in an instant spread over him. He then ordered the
alcaide

alcaide and his attendants to advance nearer. They all answered, *Nama, sede*, that is, *Yes, master* ; and ran to him as hastily as if going to seize him. This is regarded as a mark of respect to the sovereign ; as it is likewise to look stedfastly in his face when before him ; but the greatest man in his dominions dares not walk in his presence.

When near enough to hear him speak, they fell on their knees, and bowed their faces to the ground, till he spoke to them. Then they held up their heads ; and (no one approaching him without a gift) they offered a present they had brought, consisting of money, powder, cloth, &c. and likewise us poor captives. Having surveyed the things, he accepted them ; and then enquired of the alcaide what was become of our captain and lieutenants.. The alcaide answered, that they had escaped. His majesty then let them understand, that he considered them as disaffected villains, unworthy to live, as having received money for setting the officers at liberty.

After this the emperor sent for four Englishmen, who had deserted from the Spanish service at Cadiz, and had served in Morocco about a year. These conducted us to a castle
at

at a little distance, there to remain till further orders.

Having got thither, our first request was, that our countrymen would give us water; for, not having drank all day, and walked bare-foot on the prickly ground in a most intense sunshine, we were so weakened by pain and thirst that we could hardly stand or speak. Accordingly they brought us water, which we swallowed with a degree of greediness that cannot be surpassed.

We had not remained here many hours, before the alcaide and his attendants were driven into the same castle, and ironed in the manner as they had served us at Tangier. Now, we imagined, he might repent having told us, that we may eat the stones to satisfy our hunger: But, notwithstanding that inhuman saying, many of us gave him bread, though we had but two pence a day to subsist on.

Two days after this, the emperor sent for us, and ordered us to stand in a line before his tent. Having placed ourselves, he chose six of the youngest, and sent them to the castle to assist the Moors that had the care of his arms; and to the remainder he ordered each a pickax, and sent us to Buscoran Castle,

Castle, about a mile distant, to begin that slavery so much abhorred by Britons.

Immediately on our reaching the castle, we were set to pull down a large house that stood within it. The walls were as thick and strong as any structure in England. Our method of getting them down was by undermining them; but most of us being strangers to the business, wanting proper tools, and our attention being often diverted by the stripes of our severe task-masters, we were in frequent danger of being crushed by the falling ruins.

The emperor often came and gave directions about the removal of the rubbish, and frequently staid five or six hours, sometimes a whole day; during which time, to gratify his impatience for the completion of the work, we were not allowed a moment's rest, not even to stand upright to ease our backs, or to get a drop of water, though the sun's heat was so great, that our heads and back were one entire blister.

In these distressful circumstances, many of our people were for conforming to the laws of Mahomet, that being the only terms whereon they could obtain an immediate release from their horrid slavery. Accordingly,

cordingly, in less than a month, twenty of our people, and eight who were in the country before, as named in the preceding list, resigned themselves to the laws of that false prophct.

When a Christian turns Mahometan, he is introduced to the emperor, to whom he makes a low bow, holds up the fore-finger of his right hand, and cries aloud, that his majesty may hear him, *Mooro feeno ; Li ba cama, seede ;* that is, *I am a convert ; long life to you, master.* Then the emperor orders him nearer ; and, perhaps, will call him *Brother*, kissing his head as a compliment on the occasion. After this the emperor says (which he must repeat after him) *Li elau Li ; en elau seede Mahomet a rusulau ;* that is, *God is a great God ; and Mahomet is his prophet in heaven.* This done, 'tis likely he will be invited to eat out of the same dish with the emperor, who afterwards sends him to Mequinez or Fez, to be circumcised.

As soon as the convert has recovered from the effects of circumcision, he is again conducted to the emperor, who, having heard him again repeat his renunciation of christianity, gives orders for clothing him in a Moorish habit, and presents him with a

ducat (6s. 8d. sterling) or some such trifle, as a token of his bounty towards a profelyte of Mahomet.

Thenceforwards he sees the emperor no more on account of his conversion ; but is obliged to take arms in defence of the country as occasion offers, and get his livelihood in the best manner he can. The Moors, however, conscious that his profession of their faith arose rather from a wish to be released from slavery than from any respect to Mahomet, will scarce have any conversation with him, and treat him as an object of contempt.

On the fourth day after our arrival at Bufcoran Castle, about seven in the morning, his majesty came thither, surveyed our work, and gave instructions for proceeding in it. About ten o'clock, he went to the other castle, where the alcaide and his miserable companions had lain in chains, for five days, on the bare ground, without the least allowance of provisions ; and if they got a little water to allay thirst, it was clandestinely conveyed to them by some compassionate friend, who hazarded his own life, in case the circumstance had reached the ears of the emperor.

Having

Having reviewed the miserable wretches, he withdrew about sixty paces from the castle towards his camp. There turning about, he gave orders that they should be brought before him in a regular manner. As soon as they were ranged in the form required, the alcaide, the three sons of the late bashaw, and another principal of Tangier, were unchained and set apart from the rest. Then, with all the apparent serenity imaginable, he bid his sword-bearer bring him his scymeter; which being delivered to him, he drew it from the scabbard with a countenance as composed as if he were only going to exercise a body of troops.

One of the delinquents being, by command, loosed from the chain and brought before him, the unhappy man, conscious of his approaching fate, fell prostrate and with tears implored his mercy. All entreaties were vain; for the emperor, without parly, exclaimed, *Efs me Li*; that is, *In the name of God*; and at one blow struck off his head.

Having thus commenced the massacre, he redelivered the scymeter to his sword-bearer, with orders for him and his assistants to follow the bloody example he had set them; and then retiring to a little distance,

he stood still to see his diabolical commands punctually executed.

No less than 334 victims to barbarian tyranny were thus sacrificed, including 39 offenders that had been in chains for several days before our arrival at the camp. A fortieth escaped the sword; for he died whilst linked by the neck in the same chain with his wretched comrades, who were obliged to drag with them the noisome carcase, which sent forth a horrid stench; no one daring to remove it without an express command.

A person endowed with the least degree of humanity might imagine, that the decapitation of such a number would have satisfied the most brutal resentment. This vengeance, however, the emperor deemed insufficient. In order, therefore, to strike deeper terror into the minds of his subjects, he ordered all the heads that had been cut off to be collected in hampers, and sent forthwith to the alcaide, or governor, of Mequinez, to be nailed upon the walls of that city in public view. Their carcasses were dragged about a mile from the place of execution, and there scattered like manure in a field, to be devoured by the birds and beasts of prey,

prey, or moulder into dust through length of time.

Sometimes, however, an act of professed lenity is shewn by the tyrannical sovereign. As no friend durst ever presume to cover one of those bodies without his express licence, he now and then graciously permits their interment. The ceremonial of this is worthy notice.

A special messenger, or one of his guards, approaches the dead body, and addresses it in the following terms: *O thou imprudent, presumptuous, and disloyal wretch! notwithstanding thou didst in thy life-time commit so many and such enormous crimes against God and thy king, I do now, in his name, and by his express order, to shew his love and affection for you, though altogether unworthy of the least of his royal favour's, freely forgive you all your past transgressions; and in consequence thereof, as the same are from this time to be buried in oblivion, I am come to bestow on thy remains a decent interment.*

We have said, that before the massacre commenced, the alcaide, three of the sons of the late bashaw Hamet, and another person of rank, were released from their chains, and reserved as spectators of the bloody scene.

scene. We have not words to express their horror at sight of the inhuman slaughter, whilst they remained ignorant of their own fate, and feared that they were reserved only to experience severer tortures.

At length the emperor went up to them, and without any extraordinary emotion, addressed them in the following terms : *Behold the headless bodies of your iniquitous confederates. I have now given you an incontestible proof of my resentment for your traiterous proceedings ; and I have in some measure ballanced accounts with you. I shall carry my vengeance no further at present ; but, as a testimony of your sorrow and contrition I expect that you send forthwith to Tangier, and take care that my affairs are duly administred. This I expect from you ; and trust that this lenity will produce a reformation, and render you better subjects in future.*

The persons thus massacred, except the forty offenders who were in irons before we came, and about fifteen leading men of Tangier, were poor, innocent, undefigning men, who had never wilfully committed any act that could be construed into an offence against their emperor. Whatever they did was merely through a sense of civil subordination, and in compliance with the command
of

of the late bashaw Hamet, and the alcaide of Tangier.

This sufficiently proves the emperor's tyranny and oppression ; but fresh instances may be given, to shew how studiously he squeezes his subjects property from them by enormous taxes ; and what dreadful punishments attend the non-compliance with his demands.

In this case, he lets loose his Black army on the defaulters. A general terror spreads over the devoted country, and destruction marks the footsteps of the barbarian troops, whose vengeance spares not even the infants of such as cannot pay the contribution required.

Tho' the emperor told the alcaide, &c. that he had no thought of carrying his resentment further at present, yet it was with a proviso, that they should take care that his demands should be punctually answered by their friends at Tangier. He intended by this to extort a round sum from each of them ; but finding himself disappointed, he gave them to understand, that they had not fulfilled the terms of pardon, and must therefore expect a more lingering, though different, death than the others had suffered.

He

He summoned them to appear once more in his presence, and gave orders for their immediate execution; but previously told them, that having promised they should not die by the stroke of the sword, as they had forfeited their lives by a second neglect, he had determined they should all die by the bow-string.

Hereupon he selected two of the weakest men of his guards, and gave them orders to fasten a cord about each of their necks, and strangle them one after another, taking a moderate time in the execution of their office. This they performed with all the deliberation imaginable, to aggravate the torments of the dying, and gratify the inhumanity of their despotic master.

In this barbarous execution, notwithstanding the small number of the victims, they spent two hours; the emperor himself rejoicing in their agonies, and triumphing over them as traitors.

This scene being concluded, he ordered the carcases to be dragged by the heels to a considerable distance from the place of execution; but on the third day after, according to his idea of mercy, he exercised his clemency in ordering their interment.

Such

Such a frequent repetition of barbarous acts, during the short acquaintance we had with our inhuman lord and master, could not fail to impress our minds with the most gloomy apprehensions; especially as we had been several times informed, within the 14 days we had been in the country, that he constantly spoke of the British nation and government in terms the most disrespectful; and declared that he would lose no opportunity of taking vengeance for the disappointment he had felt through the non-payment of the ransom for which we were now detained. The flagrant instances of his cruelty towards his own subjects left little doubt but a more excessive portion of misery was intended for those of a foreign state which had, by a non-performance of contract, as he thought, justly provoked his resentment.

Whilst we were thus doubly afflicted, both in body and mind, by excessive labour in a scorching climate, under the miseries of hunger and thirst, aggravated by the continual stripes and reproaches of our stern overseers, and still dreading further affliction, a ray of comfort reached us with the following letter from Mr. Petticrew:

E

Larach,

Larach, Friday, 24th June, 1746.

Mr. Kilbs and Countrymen,

I send this courier to advise you of my arrival here, where I shall rest on account of my lameness till Saturday, and then proceed for Mequinez; and on Wednesday or Thursday next shall see you.

By letters lately received from the ambassador, he was to leave England the 28th of May, so is hourly expected at Gibraltar; which I wish may be speedily for your sakes; and God send you an immediate delivery.

I am, sirs,

Your very humble servant,

William Petticrew.

On the 29th of June, we received advice of Mr. Petticrew's arrival at Mequinez; and sent him several letters immediately, wherein we gave him a faithful representation of our unhappy state, and entreated him in the most pressing terms to use his interest in our behalf, not doubting but he might be of essential service to us, when admitted to the emperor's presence.

This day the emperor ordered us all to appear before him. Accordingly we were drawn

drawn up in his view ; and having attentively surveyed us, he selected sixteen of the youngest, and asked them, if they would turn Mahometans. This they refused, and then he dispatched them, under a proper guard, immediately to Fez, to assist the gunsmiths there in such branches of their profession as they might judge them most capable of. The remainder of us were remanded to the castle, with strict orders to be kept as close as possible to our usual labour.

The following are the names of the sixteen sent to Fez.

David Foster	Alex. Hamilton
Charles Milson	John Buckland
Thomas Searl	James Pridham
Thomas Chapman	James Macdonald
Thomas Lawson	William Spurr
Thomas Bell	Thomas Hughes
Mugford Dampier	Richard Gough
William Barker	James Wells

These young men, in their march to Fez, had an opportunity of paying their personal respects to Mr. Petticrew at Mcquinez ; where they lay in the very house,

in which that gentleman had taken up his quarters for that night's refreshment.

On the 30th of June, Mr. Petticrew had admission to the emperor, and delivered him a very handsome present from his majesty king George, consisting principally of powder, ball, musquets, fine cloth, superfine teas, and the best Brazil tobacco, which was received with marks of pleasure and approbation.

This ceremony being over, Mr. Petticrew informed him, that his excellency William Latton, esq. his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiary and consul-general, was daily expected at Gibraltar, where, it was proposed, he should wait for the emperor's directions, in respect to his landing at Tetuan with the tokens of friendship committed to him by his master for the emperor's acceptance; after the delivery of which, he was, if agreeable, to settle a treaty between the two crowns on the most beneficial and permanent foundations.

To this the emperor answered, that he had long hoped for the arrival of such an ambassador from the king of Great-Britain; and therefore desired Mr. Petticrew would return, and forward him without delay.

Mr.

Mr. Petticrew thereupon took leave, without noticing our deplorable circumstances in the least, and made the best of his way to Mequinez. Notwithstanding his route lay within a mile of the castle in which we flaved, he gave us no opportunity of speaking to him. However, having totally neglected us when with the emperor, he could have given us but little comfort by such an interview.

Being thus deprived of a personal conference, we sent him, on the 1st of July, a letter, enclosing a deputation to him to receive, in our names, the prize-money due to us for the French vessel we had captured and sent to Gibraltar. This, however, did us no service; the only effect was the production of the following letter from Mr. Petticrew :

Gentlemen,

*I this day received your letter with the power of attorney, and shall do all that is in my power to recover your parts of the prize, which shall be * farthingly reserved for you. I shall*

* The meaning, no doubt, is, that not a farthing of the money should be diminished.

also endeavour to collect some charity at Gibraltar. I assure you, I shall do and act in every thing in my power, to get you out of the country, as if the case was my own; so hope no more of you will be so mad as to renounce your faith. The people the emperor has ordered to Fez lay with me last night. It makes my very heart bleed, to see their naked miserable condition; but one comfort is, it cannot be long, as I expect the ambassador will be at Gibraltar before I get down. I wish you all health and happiness, and am, sirs,

Your affectionate friend,

William Petticrew.

The people, who were sent by the emperor to Fez, remitted us information, that notwithstanding they were at the consul's house, it was with great difficulty they got admission to his presence; and that they could procure no further comfort from him, than a bare assurance that he shortly expected to see the ambassador at Gibraltar.

The hopes of sir William Latton's speedy arrival were now our chief support; and we constantly prayed God that the event might take place; especially as we now found that even sickness could not procure us any respite from the excessive labours of the day.

Indeed,

Indeed, had the overseers been inclined to indulge us, they durst not have done it, for fear of being punished themselves.

At length Mr. Kilbs, who had been master of our ship, having stood to his work till nature was worn out, fainted under the fatigues he had endured. The emperor seeing him extended on the ground, asked one of the overseers the reason of his lying in that indolent position, and why he was not spurred up to his work. Being informed that he could not stand, he ordered Mr. Kilbs to be brought before him, that he might be satisfied of the truth of the case. Three Moors thereupon took him up and bore him to the emperor, who, perceiving the unhappy man to be really in the agonies of death, ordered him to be conveyed to the outer part of the castle, the place appointed for our lodgings, where he soon expired in solitude, without a roof to cover him, or a friend to close his eyes and stretch his stiffening limbs. However, when our day's labour was ended, we paid him the last good office of humanity, and interred his remains with all the decency that could be shewn them by persons in our most unhappy circumstances.

The

The news of the inhuman massacre that had been executed on the alcaide of Tangier, &c. soon spread to the remotest parts of the empire; and it may naturally be imagined, that a proceeding so cruel and despotic would rouse a spirit of indignation and produce an opposition to the tyrant, wherever there could be a hope of attacking him with success.

In many places, even among the vassals of so powerful and terrible a despot, human nature revolted at idea of his tyranny; and public detestation began to be manifested in murmurings and expressions of discontent.

Muley Mustudy, brother to the emperor Muley Abdallah, having long meditated an attack upon the throne, judged this time of public clamour, to be a most favourable opportunity for an attempt to accomplish his wishes. Accordingly, he used every artifice to increase the people's hatred of his brother; and dispatched his emissaries to all quarters, to sound the inclinations of the people, and to excite the most discontented to an immediate revolt, promising to head the insurgents in person as soon as they should have collected their forces at a general rendezvous.

According

According to his wishes, the city of Tangier most readily espoused his interest; and the city of Larach, still mourning the deaths of several of its principal people, who had shared the untimely fate of the alcaide of Tangier, were no less inclined to avenge their blood. The inhabitants of the sea-ports of Arzelah and Saffaah also entered into the measures of opposition; and the spirit of insurrection extended itself with greater rapidity than Muley Mustudy had at first imagined to have been possible. Application was likewise made to Old Fez for its assistance in the important attempt. Old Fez, taking their remonstrances into consideration, and reflecting with resentment on the arbitrary proceedings of Muley Abdallah, sent deputies to the Beneceens, or farmers, to lay before them the state of the rebellion now commenced, and sound their inclinations in regard to an affair of such importance; desiring them to communicate their thoughts freely, if they were under the least uneasiness through immoderate taxes, or impositions of any other kind; and if they were inclinable to seek redress, to assure them, that Old Fez would assist in their endeavours to pull down the tyrant

Abdallah, and establish Muley Mustudy on the throne.

These proposals were approved of by the Beneceens, who joined without the least hesitation, and used their utmost interest and endeavours to bring over the inhabitants of Mequinez to espouse the cause of Muley Mustudy; but these were too strongly attach'd to the government of Muley Abdallah, for any argument to have the least influence upon them; tho' they acknowledged the massacre to be so rash a display of his power as they could not approve of.

Tho' this refusal proved in some measure mortifying, yet an application was made directly to the natives of Hianiah, another populous part of the country, who had not resolution to embark in the plot, fearing the consequences of failure, as they still remembered the severe hardships they had suffer'd some years before on a like intended revolution.

Not disheartened even by this second repulse, they founded the disposition of the people of Sallee; and here they received all the encouragement they could wish. These joined the Beneceens with the utmost alacrity, openly exclaimed against despotism
and

and arbitrary power, and promised to support the interest of Muley Mustudy at the hazard of their lives.

Things being now ripe for execution, the malecontents assembled their forces, forming an army near 30,000 strong, and unanimously determined to give battle to Muley Abdallah.

The emperor had constant intelligence of these operations ; and on receiving advice of their intended march to attack him, he instantly removed from Buscoran Castle, and gave orders for bringing us to the other castle, which lay nearer to the place of his encampment.

On our arrival there, one part of us were employed in assisting their masons ; and the rest were set to levelling the rocky irregularities which disfigured the road between the castle and his *mehullo*, or camp.

As the emperor sat for several hours every day to be an eye-witness of our progress in the work, we were kept to it so closely that it is impossible for us to describe the toils and fatigues we were obliged to undergo. After the rocky prominences were reduced to the emperor's satisfaction, we were ordered to convey the huge pieces which had been

cut off to one corner of the castle. A work like this was more fit to be performed by horses than human creatures ; and, as may easily be supposed, the few rags we had to cover us were soon torn from our backs ; so that most of us, by the time this job was completed, were obliged to work naked as low as our waists.

The revolt of the emperor's subjects took place at the latter end of July. This being the hottest season of the year, and our duty being rendered excessive by the dispatch required in the present state of his affairs, we were constantly blistered by the scorching rays of the sun, till at length we became enured to it, and our hides were so perfectly tanned, that it would have been difficult for our most intimate acquaintance to have recognized us.

About the middle of August, the malecontents began their march towards Bufen ; and on the 20th of the same month, they pitched their tents within two miles of the emperor's camp.

On the 30th, they began to block up the road, in order to cut off his communication with the city of Mequinez. To prevent the completion of this design, Muley Abdallah deter-

determined to march at the head of his Black army, which equalled the enemy in number, and give them battle at all adventures.

Accordingly, on the 2d of September, an engagement commenced, which was continued by repeated attacks and skirmishings for three days, with various success. Both parties had at times shewn instances of courage and vigour; but at length the forces of Muley Mustudy obliged the Blacks to fly to the castle in the utmost confusion, though the emperor Abdallah had used his utmost endeavours to inspire them with courage by his presence and intrepid example.

On the 4th, in the night, the malecontents set fire to the emperor's camp; and by destroying his whole magazine of powder, which had been treasured up in a particular tent, they disabled him from making any further attacks at that time.

All that night we kept close within the castle; and early next morning, having mustered all his force, the emperor marched out. Having divided his Black army into two parts, he placed one on the right, and the other on the left, of his body-guards;
and

and ordered his baggage, with the women, children, converts, and Christian slaves, to advance in front. In this order we moved forwards for Mequinez ; but the enemy having possessed themselves of many advantageous positions on each side of our route, we were continually harraffed in our march, skirmishing all the way, whereby numbers were killed and wounded on each side.

Being at length arrived within a mile of Mequinez, whilst crossing a river, we discovered about 200 armed men advancing towards us, whom we at first took for a party of the enemy ; but on a nearer approach, we perceived the butt-ends of their muskets extended towards us, intimating that they were friends ; and we afterwards found they had come from Mequinez to assist the emperor. On discovering them to be auxiliaries, our army gave a general shout ; and indeed they afterwards proved very serviceable ; for being all fresh men, they repulsed the rebel parties which harraffed us, and about eight at night, the emperor arrived safe at Mequinez, with all his baggage, women, &c. The army, except the bodyguards, were encamped without the walls for that night.

As

As for us poor captives, though we had our share in the fatigues of the day's march, we were not allowed a moment for rest or refreshment, but were kept hard at work till midnight, in unloading the emperor's baggage, and removing quantities of iron from place to place.

The Black army being next day quartered in the city, the rebels had the country to plunder at discretion. Their continual depredations and stopping provisions from the city excited the indignation of the Black troops, who requested the emperor's permission to go against the enemy, promising to chastise their insolence wherever they should meet them.

In consequence of this loyalty to their sovereign, they had daily skirmishes with the malecontents for near a month, in which time great numbers were cut off on both sides.

These engagements were always entered into at so small a distance from the town, that we, who were within the walls, could hear the report the musquets.

This was an artful scheme of the Blacks, as having always shelter to fly to, in case they found the enemy an over-match.

They

They, however, maintained the field all the day-time, but made the town their place of rendezvous in the evening. It was customary for them to march in before it was dark, each firing his piece as fancy led him, boasting of the petty conquests they had made over the enemy wherever they attacked them, and loudly vociferating, *Long live Muley Abdallah ! May Mahomet enable us to cut off the heads of all such as dare to espouse the interest of the usurper Muley Mustady.*

The malecontents, finding it impossible for them to push any temporary advantages which they might obtain to a decisive victory, while the emperor's forces had the city to cover their retreat, determined to carry on their depredations at a greater distance from Mequinez, in order to draw the enemy to an engagement in a spot so remote from their fortifications, that, should they be so fortunate as to put them to the rout in the field, they might have an opportunity of completing their success by cutting off their retreat.

With this view, they one night removed their camp to such a distance, that the scouts from Mequinez could get no sight of them in the morning.

In

In the course of the day information was brought to the emperor, that the insurgents had in their march intercepted a * *coffelet* of considerable value, in its passage from Hianiah to Mequinez. On receipt of this intelligence, the Black commanders held a council of war, in which it was determined to apply for the sovereign's leave to follow the enemy; and to take such measures for their suppression as should effectually prevent the like misfortune in future.

Abdallah, transported at this new instance of the fidelity of his Black officers, not only assented to their proposition, but, in order to animate them to a vigorous performance of it, presented to each of the alcaides, or principal commanders, one of his own saddle-horses.

This was a mark of imperial bounty they had never before experienced, and was of itself sufficient to have stimulated them to the most heroic acts of valour. But this distinguished piece of munificence was not

* A *coffelet* is a number of horses, mules, and carriages, laden with treasure.

an adequate manifestation of the generosity which the emperor's embarrassments had taught him to assume an appearance of. As a further instance of his regard, he bestowed on each of them a rich garment taken from the wardrobe of his deceased father. This was a present incomparably superior to the former, and such as had not been given, even to his most particular favourite, since his accession to the throne. The value of this gift was enhanced in the estimation of the receivers as well by the prejudices of religious veneration as by the sentiments of civil and military honour; for the emperor's father, though as despotic and tyrannical as the son, having, after his death, been raised to the honour of a saint by canonization, every vestment that belonged to him was imagined to have acquired a degree sanctity from the wearer, and was considered as a religious relick of peculiar efficacy in the preservation of its possessor. Such reverence was the memory of the emperor's father held in, that his name was often used with veneration equal to that shewn for Mahomet's itself. The common beggars of the country, when they would excite

a religious Moor to an act of charity, think they cannot more effectually accomplish their aim than by imploring his beneficence in the name of this saint.

It is to be noted likewise, that there is a kind of holy privilege conferred on the emperor's horses, which is somewhat analogous to that possessed by the sanctuaries of the Jews and Christians in times past; for if any malefactor, however criminal, can be so fortunate as to lay hold of the mane or tail of one of those, his pardon is certainly obtained.

In addition to all this, the emperor authorised the commanders to inform the individuals of their respective companies, that should their efforts be successful in the suppression of rebellion, he would, on their return to Mequinez, bestow one of the late emperor's garments on each soldier that should have distinguished himself; and that forty kentles (forty hundred-weight) of silver should be distributed as a token of his royal bounty to the army in general.

If the actual presentation of the sacred robes and the emperor's horses to the alcaides could incite *them* to bravery, the

promise of a large reward to the common soldiers would, it was imagined, operate no less powerfully, as their ordinary allowance of pay and clothing was so small and so badly distributed, that they were almost total strangers to both.

Encouraged by these great promises, on the fourth day they marched out of the city of Mequinez; and having reached the neighbouring plain, they were drawn up by their alcaides for the emperor's review. To this purpose, the emperor went forth; and after continuing with them about three quarters of an hour, he expressed his satisfaction at their appearance, which at his departure was answered by a general shout of *Long live Muley Abdallah! Down with the rebels! &c.*

As they continued their march, they fired their musquets, and committed a thousand irregularities which would not fail to provoke the ridicule of any one acquainted with the discipline of a European army. In short, their march bore more resemblance to a return from a war finished by complete victory, than to a going-out to fight an enemy who had already handled them somewhat roughly.

On

On the emperor's return to his palace at Mequinez, we poor captives were drawn up rank and file, that we might pay our homage to him in an orderly manner as he passed by.

At his approach, he stopped short and surveyed us. In a few minutes after, he asked our overseer what place was fixed on for our lodging. The overseer pointed to a wall at a little distance, and informed him, that we were stationed at nights to take our rest at the foot of it. The emperor then looking round him, saw an open arch, which stood in front of one of the buildings in his garden, and directed that we should quarter there, as a place more convenient and comfortable than the other.

This being the first act of humanity we had ever experienced from the emperor, it gave us no small degree of pleasure. We warmly congratulated each other on the receipt of so unexpected an indulgence; and began to flatter ourselves that capricious fortune was now growing weary of persecuting us, and that our affairs would soon wear a more favourable aspect. In short, our minds received no less refreshment

ment from reflections of this nature than did our bodies on being sheltered from the cold dews which had before nightly descended upon us.

This pleasure, however, was not without its alloy; for the malicious Moors, grudging us even this little convenience, disturbed us repeatedly in the night, by pelting us with clods of earth, and now and then a stone. Though this was to their unfeeling minds a matter of mere diversion, yet it was of serious import to us, as we lay in imminent danger of having our brains beat out by a cowardly enemy whom we could not see, and durst not at any rate attack. We, however, in some degree screened ourselves from the intended effects of these assaults. Luckily for us, there grew within the enclosures of the garden several hedges of canes, which were used there as aqueducts; and with a quantity of these interwoven, we formed such a fence towards the opening of the arch within which we lay, as afforded a tolerable degree of protection.

Upon the whole, the insurrection of the emperor's subjects was of great service to us; for the attention of our masters being
diverted

diverted to weightier affairs, we had some respite from the toils which would otherwise have been imposed on us : Nay, there is reason to imagine, that many of us owed our lives to this public disturbance ; for had not the emperor been driven from Bufcoran Castle, the majority of us must inevitably have perished under the continuance of the incessant labours that we underwent during his encampment near that place.

In our present better circumstances, such as had been reduced to the brink of the grave began to recover strength ; and all that were able employed themselves in patching the few rags that remained to cover our nakedness. Our allowance too was greater now than at Bufcoran, being increased to two pence per day each man. We had licence to go into the town, to lay out our pittance to the best advantage ; and though the natives of the country are most notoriously addicted to take all advantages of the inexperience of strangers, we were upon the whole but little sufferers in this particular, having by this time got a competent acquaintance with their mercenary dispositions, and obtained

a smattering of the language sufficient to enable us to do our little business without being duped by their artifices.

As the Black army had now been absent for a considerable time, and we had heard of only a few inconsiderable skirmishes with small parties of the enemy, we began to believe that the main body of the malecontents had dispersed themselves in a panic. However, about four o'clock in the afternoon, the city of Mequinez was put into a great alarm by a vague account of the commencement of a general action, the event of which was still a matter of uncertainty.

From this painful state of doubt and suspense the citizens were relieved about three hours after, by the arrival of an express from the commander in chief, with advice of a complete victory over the rebels.

Soon after this, the army returned to Mequinez with colours flying; the soldiers wantonly discharging their musquets at their own pleasure, and exhibiting ten thousand most extravagant and ludicrous airs of triumph and exultation. As a further testimony of their success, they displayed

displayed the spoils of the enemy's camp ; and brought with them in baskets the heads of a number of the friends of Muley Mustudy, which were immediately nailed by the ears in the market-places and other public parts of the city.

At last the army were drawn up in a line, near the walls of the palace ; and a running fire (after the manner of rejoicing in that country) was kept up for several minutes, each man discharging his piece rapidly one after another, proceeding from right to left, till every soldier had fired thrice.

This ceremony being over, the soldiers dispersed themselves through every part of the city, each discharging his piece before the door of his respective quarters, repeating *Down with the rebels ! Long live our great sovereign Muley Abdallah !* and concluding with a triumphant huzza.

As we had been blest with a considerable respite from the severity of labour, we began to imagine that this was a designed indulgence, arising from some extraordinary circumstance which had particularly operated in our favour with the emperor. This circumstance, we flattered ourselves, could be nothing less than his

H

majesty's

having authentic intelligence of the British ambassador's arrival at Gibraltar; which would soon be followed by his appearance at Mequinez, and our happy deliverance out of the house of bondage.

Proportioned to our elation of spirit in the pleasing contemplation of these ideas, was the dejection we felt at the discovery that it was but a fiction of our fancies, which our wishes rather than a sober judgment had led us to entertain as matter of fact.

In the midst of this reverie, we were hastily summoned to appear before the emperor. The most languishing eye in our company sparkled with pleasure at the citation, and we hastened with all speed to receive a promise, if not the actual gift of freedom.

Conceive then, if possible, our mortification on receiving orders from the emperor to lose no time in removing an enormous pile of wood that stood in his way to a more commodious situation at a quarter of a mile's distance.

In this business we were labouriously engaged two days; at the expiration of which the emperor expressed great displeasure,

pleasure, as a considerable share of the work remained to be done. Near an hundred of his foot-guards were next morning ordered to assist us; and here we had a new instance of the impatience of his temper, and of the arbitrary and despotic dominion which he possessed over the lives of his subjects.

When he had determined on the speedy completion of this job, he would attend for hours together, to mark its progress, and compel our overseers to keep every labourer strictly to it. In the number of our assistants were two superannuated soldiers, so weakened by the infirmities of old age, that their tottering limbs could scarce carry the load with which nature herself had burthened them. After two or three turns, their little abilities were exhausted, and they determined to apply to the emperor himself, trusting they should find a relief from their task through his clemency and a consideration of their infirmities.

Accordingly, having declined their work, the emperor noticed it with resentment; whereupon they addressed him in the most humble and submissive manner, assuring him

him of their willingness to obey all his commands, and that nothing but downright incapacity had occasioned their cessation from labour : They likewise represented, that they had faithfully served in the army eighteen years during the lifetime of the Blessed Muley Ishmael, his father ; and had continued in his own service from his accession. On these considerations, they entreated his majesty to pity their infirmities, and hoped he would charitably afford them some support during the short remainder of a life hitherto devoted to the service of his good father and himself.

To this just and pathetic remonstrance he replied, that he plainly perceived they were unable to labour any longer ; and, such being the case, he thought it his duty to relinquish all expectation of future service from them, and to take immediate care that they should be secured as much as possible from the evils of old age and poverty. Having delivered this answer with a diabolic sneer, he turned to two of his guards, and gave them orders to ease the old men of all their cares by shooting them thro' the head instantly,

His

His commands were executed in a moment. Now, said he, *in return for your services, I have taken effectual care that you should not languish in poverty and disease. Your sorrows in this life are at an end; and I shall shew you a further mark of my care, by ordering your bodies a decent interment.*

Having soon finished the removal of the wood, we were remanded to our lodgings in the arch; and from this time we experienced no more hard labour at Mequinez, where we remained in the whole about six weeks. It is not to be understood, that during this period of leisure we were wholly inactive. The truth is, there was some work to be done every day, such as might be accomplished by six or seven us; and this being performed in rotation, we had no reason to murmur or complain.

During our residence at Mequinez, the emperor had employed some of his Moors in removing a number of large oil-jars to a store-house intended for that particular article. Having been negligent in this business, and fearing the emperor's arrival before the work should be finished, they applied to our overseer for some of us
to

to assist them. This request was readily complied with, and six of us set about removing the jars with all expedition; but before we had finished, the emperor came out of his apartment, mounted his horse, and rode towards us.

On his approach, we all, according to custom, cried out, *Long live Muley Abdallah, our good master!* and then fell prostrate before him, and kissed the ground. After this, we ranged ourselves in a row to receive his commands.

The emperor discovering that some of us had assisted the Moors in the removal of the jars, sent a messenger to require the immediate attendance of our overseer. He instantly came, and the emperor asked him, with a frown, *Why are the Christians set upon this work? Who gave you orders for the purpose?* The overseer, conscious of his error, and trembling for the consequences of the discovery, threw himself at the emperor's feet, and begged forgiveness in the most earnest manner. The emperor turned a deaf ear to all his entreaties; and, to convince his subjects that none should dare employ his Christian slaves in work not appointed by him, he

he ordered a pair of iron fetters to be sent for ; and in the mean time directed four of his guards to extend the overseer at full length and bastinado him till the messenger returned. Happily for him, the fetters were soon brought ; for he could not have long endured the severity of the bastinado. The irons being laid before the emperor, he commanded the executioners to cease beating him, and fasten the heavy chains about his legs. This being done, he sent an attendant for an instrument resembling that which our gardeners use to root up weeds ; and delivering it to the degraded overseer, sent him, bruised and fettered as he was, to make mortar.

This work, to which he had never been accustomed, he was now obliged to follow very closely for fourteen successive days. And at the expiration of that term, there is little doubt but he had fully determined never to offend his lord and master by employing his Christian slaves in the work allotted to Moors.

To say the truth, we received ourselves some little satisfaction from his chastisement and degradation. We had, to our sorrow,

sorrow, often experienced the ill effects of that lust of despotism and brutal ferocity which marked the conduct of this petty tyrant ; it was therefore natural for us to be somewhat pleased to see our cause, as it were providentially, revenged on him by a higher despot, of principles and character the very prototypes of his own.

This severity to our overseer being, at his release, succeeded by a present to us from the emperor of five large bowls of *cuscusu* (containing about half a bushel each, with a quantity of minced mutton in it) we flattered ourselves that the emperor was not so implacable an enemy to the Christians as we had at first took him to be. This, however, was a wrong conceit ; for every principle of the man was swallowed up in the ruling passion of the tyrant. The lust of uncontrouled dominion, an impatience of the least obstruction to his desires, hurried him into the most shocking acts of cruelty. An error, even in the endeavour to please him, would excite his anger. In short, his barbarities were the effects of his nature ; his beneficence the offspring of fear or caprice.

Though

Though we were totally innocent of having the least share in procuring the punishment of the overseer ; yet it being somewhat natural for men to conceive an antipathy towards any object connected with the cause of their unhappiness, we were under great apprehensions that he would take opportunities to vent his spleen against us : His chastisement, however, had a contrary effect ; for not only he, but the Moors in general, were thenceforward extremely cautious not to burthen us with any labour, or offer us any insult, without being previously well satisfied of the emperor's approbation or acquiescence. We could sometimes overhear them discoursing to this effect : *Our emperor considers these Christian Infidels as a valuable part of his property, on account of the revenue he expects in their ransom ; and for the same reason, he looks upon them as his own peculiar slaves, and regards it as an insult to himself, if any one offers to use them in any business without his express orders : We must therefore be careful, or, for the next offence, instead of the bastinado, he may order our heads to be lopped off, if the humour takes him.*

In addition to these favourable circumstances, we received a visit from the emperor's aid de camp, who came to acquaint us, that he had delivered a letter into his majesty's hands, from the alcaide of Tetuan, the purport of which, he was well assured, was to notify the arrival of the British ambassador at Gibraltar, as he himself had received a letter of the same tenor from a correspondent at Tetuan.

This welcome information was further confirmed to us by one of the emperor's brothers, who came to us the same evening, and enquired if we had heard any news of the arrival of an ambassador from England. We respectfully answered, that we had no authentic information of that event, but expected daily to hear of it. He then assured us, that the ambassador was indeed at Gibraltar; and very kindly added, to comfort us, that he had heard the emperor say he would readily release us, if the ambassador had any thing reasonable to offer in our behalf.

On the receipt of this good news, it may easily be imagined, we had but little inclination to sleep; we accordingly spent the night in mutual congratulations and entertaining

tertaining discourses, in which we fancifully anticipated the pleasures we expected soon to enjoy in the sight of our native country and the company of our friends. But these agreeable ideas were in the morning somewhat suppressed by one of our party observing, that there was yet much room to doubt the truth of the report, as we had not received any intelligence of the matter either from his excellency or from Mr. Petticrew, one of whom would very probably have been speedy in sending us an account of such importance, had it any foundation.

To this it was replied, that the emperor's brother was a man of such established good reputation, that there could be no reason to doubt his having received the account from the emperor ; and there was no rational argument to be advanced which could support the idea of the emperor's intending to impose on his brother or on us.

The report in the morning we found to be universal ; and before noon we saw the emperor's brother again, who assured us, that his majesty intended to send a letter to the alcaide of Tetuan, with orders

for him to invite the Britannick ambassador on shore; and that a detachment from the Black army should be sent to wait on him at the alcaide's house, and escort him from thence to court.

This gave us fresh spirits; and the most incredulous amongst us were induced to wait with the greater patience for the much-desired confirmation, under the consideration that our labours and distresses were now very light in comparison of what they had been.

On the 8th of October, advices were received from New Fez, that the roads in its neighbourhood were so infested by the rebels, that no coffelet would attempt to approach that capital, on account of the great risque of falling into the hands of the enemy; and that the citizens were apprehensive of suffering a famine, as the communication with the country was so much cut off, that the supplies of provision were very precarious and scanty; wherefore they most earnestly entreated the emperor to send troops to their immediate succour.

In answer to this request, the emperor informed them, that he would forthwith
pay

pay them a visit in person, and make a severe example of the disturbers of his repose.

During the rest of our short stay at Mequinez, we had the comfortable opportunity of furnishing ourselves with a plenty of fruits, such as pomegranates, pumpkins, figs, grapes, &c. which grew in the emperor's garden in the utmost profusion; so that, with our allowance of a blanqueen (about two-pence) per day, we now lived in affluence, compared with our fare at Bufcoran.

The generality of the inhabitants of Mequinez are of a tolerably good complexion, moderate in height, and well proportioned. To give the better sort of the citizens their due, they are far more humane and civilized than those of Tangier, and indeed those of any other place in this country at which it was our fate to reside. The lower classes, however, even in this most polished city of the empire (if we may be allowed to call any part of such an empire polished) are extremely brutish and savage; and so inveterate is their hatred towards a Christian, that they would kill him with as
little

little scruple as they would the most venomous reptile, were they not restrained by the high hand of despotism, whose tender mercies in this particular are the effects of avarice alone, a principle more fordid, though perhaps not so pernicious as the religious antipathy of the bigot.

Whenever they meet a Christian, unless deterred by some present obstacle, they greet him with reproaches and expressions of contempt. The best word they can utter is, *You are a Coffer*, that is, an *Infidel* or *Unbeliever*; and when they chastise their beasts of burden to quicken their progress, they generally accompany their lashes with the words *Evau abble, Ensarab*, that is, *Mend your pace, you Christian Dog*.

During the emperor's residence at Mequinez, the captain of a row-boat came from Sallee to wait upon him. The sea-officer had returned from a cruize, in which he had taken two prizes; and was come to court to deliver to his majesty the share of the captures which is customarily rendered to government, and likewise to offer a considerable present as a token of his loyal affection.

The emperor received the present and share of the prizes with all seeming complacency and satisfaction; and the captain imagined that his services were highly approved. But the emperor had received an account, that the captain had, on his cruise, met with a French merchantman, but had declined an engagement, fearing the Christians might prove too strong for him. On this information, the emperor had in his mind passed sentence on him as a coward, and only waited his arrival for execution.

The captain, highly pleased with the acceptance of his present, staid only for his formal dismissal. The emperor observing he now expected his discharge, told him, he could not dismiss him yet, as he had some business of importance to settle, which had not yet been duly adjusted. At this the captain was somewhat chagrined, and began to suspect the emperor's displeasure, but knew not what to attribute it to. The emperor, however, soon put an end to his uncertainty, by telling him, with an angry countenance, that he was determined to make him account for the loss of the French merchantman,

chantman, which, like a coward and a traitor, he had ran away from ; and that nothing but his life should answer for the fault.

During this interview, the emperor was on horseback, and the captain on foot. The emperor moved his horse about 30 paces from the victim of his resentment, and turning short round, with his lance in his hand, rode full speed towards him, and endeavoured to pierce him through the body. The captain, however, hoping to save his life, artfully evaded the thrust, and, according to the custom of the country, caught hold of the tail of the horse, (which, as has been before observed, is usually a sanctuary from further punishment) imploring mercy and forgiveness in a most pathetic manner. The emperor, however, was sufficiently conscious that there was no real sanctity in himself, and that of course his horse, or its tail, could derive no holiness from the rider ; he, therefore, made no scruple to sacrifice the prejudices and good opinion of his subjects in that point to the gratification of his revenge. Doubly exasperated by the evasion which the captain had made, he

he darted his lance into his body, and laid him lifeless in a minute, with no less than thirteen wounds, the least of which would have produced death.

Having thus performed the office of an executioner with his own hand, he commanded the dead body to be dragged to the market-place, and there exposed for three days, as a public monument of his vengeance on cowardice ; and after the expiration of that term, to be dragged in the same infamous manner without the walls of the city, there to remain till the birds and beasts of prey or the operations of nature should have destroyed it.

The jacket of the unhappy victim was purchased by a Spanish captive, who preserved it, intending (should Providence grant him a release) to exhibit the thirteen holes made in it by the emperor's spear as monuments, in the face of Christendom, of Barbarian tyranny.

On the 4th of October, about sun-set, our overseer informed us, that we must get ourselves in readiness for a march to Fez the next morning ; as the emperor had issued orders for the Black army to

be under arms, without the city-walls, at break of day.

There was little difficulty (God knows) in getting our baggage ready for the expedition. Apparel we had none, save that on our backs ; and as to provision, it being but a small loaf apiece, we had rather been more heavily laden with that article.

Early in the morning of the 25th, we were removed in a hurry from our lodgings under the arch, the most commodious habitation we were ever possessed of. After having marched about half a mile, we were ordered to halt till the emperor should overtake us.

About eight o'clock his imperial majesty set out, preceded by a large train of ladies belonging to his seraglio, the eunuchs who attended upon them, and his baggage.

As these ladies passed by us and the Black army, which stood at a little distance from us, we all wheeled about, to turn our faces from them ; for it is highly criminal for any one to look at a lady of the emperor's retinue.

After

After the ladies and their attendant eunuchs had advanced about half a mile, the baggage began to proceed. After this, we, the Christian captives, marched on foot. We were followed by a part of the army, consisting of about 2000 men, all mounted on mules. Next came forwards the emperor himself, mounted on one of his best horses most richly caparisoned, and attended by his suite of courtiers, who kept at a respectful distance behind him. After these followed the rest of the Black army. In the rear, marched about 2000 of the principal inhabitants of the city of Mequinez, who closed the procession, in token of their loyalty to their sovereign.

About eleven o'clock in the forenoon, it began to rain very hard ; whereupon the emperor sent orders to the ladies and eunuchs in the van to mend their pace, that the whole cavalcade might move on faster.

This new order proved exceedingly distressing to us, who were obliged to walk all the way ; especially as the rain continued the whole day without the least intermission.

It may easily be imagined, that as such a number of horse had preceded us, and so much rain had fallen, the road must have been rendered very difficult for us to travel in. The soil was so slippery, and our bambouches, the shoes of this country, being thoroughly soaked, twisted round our feet in such variety of shapes, that we had perhaps better have walked barefoot.

This dirty march from Mequinez to Fez could be little short of 35 English miles. Indeed, the very mules were so jaded, that their riders could at last hardly get them forward. What, then, must have been our fatigues! Five of our company, tho' much recovered by the ease and indulgence we had enjoyed at Mequinez, were still too weak to have performed such a journey, on the best road, in the best weather, without great pain; and it was an addition to the griefs both of the infirm and the most healthy, that the march was so hastened that the most robust of us, however willing, were not permitted to halt and assist those who lagged behind.

The

The sun was now setting, and we had yet eleven miles to Fez. The emperor ordered the army, &c. to use the greatest expedition, that he might, if possible, reach the town before it should be quite dark. This effort it was impossible for us to make. As the emperor passed us, he noticed our dirty, wet, and wearied condition; and, having himself been a little incommoded by the mere unpleasantness of the weather, this unusual distress kindled in him the little spark of humanity he was capable of, and excited his compassion towards us so far, that he called us *Good men*, and pointed forwards, intimating that the town was before us, and our fatigues would soon be over. He then gave orders for a detachment of the troops to take care of us, and conduct us to town as quickly as our condition would allow.

The emperor, however, was no sooner out of sight, but the party who were ordered to conduct us, left their charge, being as desirous of getting to the end of their journey, and entering into quarters, as his majesty.

Being

Being now left to ourselves, we moved slowly that those who had lagged behind might overtake us. At length, however, we had the pleasure of discovering numbers of lights at a distance, which were fires that the Blacks had kindled in the suburbs of Fez, in order to dry and refresh themselves after so wet and disagreeable a march.

The nearer we approached the town, the more stony we found the road; which in our present tired condition proved as troublesome to our wet and blistered feet as the miry way we had already passed over.

Not only those that were sick, but several of us that had left Mequinez in health, were now incapable of proceeding; and careless of life or death, they laid themselves on the cold wet ground, where they remained all night.

Those who had made shift to reach Fez sheltered themselves till the morning in any nook or corner they could find.

Next day the stragglers dropt in one after another; but the consequences of the day's fatigue and the exposure at night were

were so fatal, that several of them were obliged to use crutches for a fortnight after ; and John Neale and William Richards grew worse daily, till death at the expiration of three weeks put an end to their miseries.

At Fez, we saw our young companions, whom the emperor had selected and sent thither to assist his gunsmiths. They were, however, but little better conditioned than ourselves ; for the town of Old Fez (from which the money appointed for their allowance was raised) having rebelled, they had now no other subsistence but what their masters afforded them ; and this could be but very little, as the distressed circumstances of the city had reduced the masters themselves to great necessity.

The following is a copy of a letter, which the sixteen young captives sent to his excellency William Latton, esq, then at Gibraltar.

New Fez, Oct. 26, 1746, N. S.

Honoured sir,

We have made bold to trouble you with these few lines, to acquaint you of our usage here in Fez. Sir, we have not had one
use

** fluse allowance since we have been here. As for our masters, they give us sometimes a loaf of bread and six fluses, and sometimes nothing ; so that if it was not for the small subsistence we have from the Spaniards and Portuguese, we must certainly have perished. Sir, we therefore beg, that your goodness will take it into consideration, and send us a small matter of relief, without which we must certainly starve to death for want of subsistence, or turn Muhometans, which they are daily at us to do. Sir, it is a most terrible thing for any Christian to think on, that a man must be forced to turn and renounce his God and king for want of subsistence.*

The customary allowance for Christians at Old Fez is no more than half a blanqueen per day ; which, at this time, was considerably reduced in value by the advanced prices of provisions. The same quantity of bread usually sold for a sum equal to a half-penny was raised to the value of five farthings ; and the number of inhabitants being increased by the arrival of the army, the bakers could not

* Twenty-four fluses equal two pence sterling.

supply their best customers fast enough, as the officers claimed the privilege of being first served.

In this state of affairs, we were obliged to take up with a cheaper commodity. We purchased horse-beans, and laid them in water to soak, and during the interval saunter'd up and down the town, to pick up sticks and other materials to make a fire.

Our manner of dressing this food was as follows : After the horse-beans had soaked a considerable time, we took off the hulls, and boiled them upwards of two hours, which dissolved them in the manner of split peas ; when boiled sufficiently, we added a small quantity of oil, which, with a little salt, rendered our mess not so very indelicate, especially as we seldom made above one meal a day, and consequently did not want that sweetest sauce, a good appetite.

On the 12th of November, 1746, we received the agreeable confirmation of the ambassador's arrival at Gibraltar, and considered our release as certainly to take place in a short time.

We were now set to clearing rubbish from an apartment which led to the rooms

in which the emperor resided. To this we were kept close from morning till night, when we were conveyed to a prison, where we had nothing to repose our wearied limbs on but the cold earth ; and our daily allowance of provision being scarcely sufficient for half a meal was eagerly devoured by us as soon as we received it in the morning.

On the 22d of November, we received a letter from his excellency sir Wm. Latton, in which he pathetically lamented our melancholy situation, and informed us, that he hoped, by the bounty of our gracious sovereign, to be shortly able to effect our liberty. He encouraged us, therefore, to banish all thoughts of embracing Mahometanism.

This was accompanied with a packet of letters from our friends in England ; in the perusal of which we spent the happiest evening we had known since the commencement of our captivity ; and resolved to brave the severest labours with spirit and intrepidity, little suspecting that they were yet to have a duration of four long years.

Having finished the clearance of the rubbish one day about noon, we were permitted to rest ourselves during the remainder. This
time

time some employed in repairing their tatters, whilst others went upon the search for firing to cook our horse-beans, upon which we now made a more comfortable meal than we had known since we were set to clearing the apartment.

But our leisure was soon over ; for very early the next morning we were roused by our overseer, who took us to a place where we found a number of pickaxes. Of these he bid us take one each, and follow him. He then conducted us to a castle about two miles from Fez. The name of the fortress is Doer Dabibah, which the emperor was going to rebuild ; but we little imagined the completion of so large a work would have fallen to our lot.

The emperor was in a *bimer*, or tent, at a little distance. Thither our overseer went, and informed him that we were at the castle according to his order. He then bid the overseer to set us to pull down a wall about 200 yards from the castle.

At this we laboured near a quarter of a year, from day-break till night, Sundays not excepted, and in all weathers ; which, with the scanty allowance of a penny per day, had again much impaired our health.

This wall being demolished we were set to work upon another eighteen feet thick. Our method in destroying these walls was, to dig trenches in them with our pickaxes about three feet deep, and then throw off pieces of a ton weight with large wooden levers.

As provisions still continued very dear, it was proposed to apply to the emperor for an augmentation of our allowance. But, as such an act seemed to be an experiment which might not only affect ourselves, but might possibly involve the Christian captives of every other nation in greater miseries, it was judged requisite that their sense of the project should be first taken. There were in captivity before us several natives of France, Spain, Portugal, &c. whose cases were far more deplorable than our own, as Muley Abdallah had determined never to release them on any terms whatever. On discovering our design to these, they were shocked at the idea; and expressing their apprehensions that a general massacre would ensue on such attempt, they prevailed on us to drop its execution for that time.

However, finding our strength decline daily, we resolved to make the trial at all events.

events. Accordingly, as the emperor one day came to view the work, one of us ran towards him and prostrated himself on the ground. The emperor noticing him, ordered an attendant to hear what he had to say. The messenger was informed, that at Buscoran and Mequinez the emperor had been pleased to allow us a blanqueen per day; and that since our arrival at Fez, tho' provisions were here much dearer, we had not received but half a blanqueen per day, on which we could not subsist; wherefore we hoped his majesty would be so good as to order us our usual allowance or something more, that we might perform our work with greater vigour and expedition.

The emperor being acquainted with this, replied *Bono, bono*, that is, *Good, good*; and ordered us a blanqueen per day. On this we all kissed the ground, and cried out, *Liba cama seede*, that is, *Long life to our master*. Our apprehensions of starving were now at an end; and at night we received the congratulations and thanks of the Christians in general, the emperor having ordered the usual allowance of every one to be doubled.

As we had been so extraordinarily successful in an undertaking which bore an appearance of such great danger, we considered ourselves as particular favoured by Providence, which had softened the heart of the fiercest tyrant on earth in our behalf.

There was, among the Christian captives who were here before us, a person that always had a great esteem for the English, named Jean Baptista, a Neapolitan by birth, and of considerable worth, tho' so unfortunate as to be a captive. He with great compassion noticed our miserable condition, and perceiving that the place where we lay, when it rain'd, afforded us little or no shelter, he built apartments for us. But when the house was almost finished, our prospect of happiness was lost; for in buildings here the roofs are flat; and the timbers thereof having dirt first laid upon them, the work is finished with loamy earth mix'd with lime. Too great a quantity of this being laid on, the additional weight of four of our people broke the main beam; and the whole roof fell in. Our friend, Jean Baptista, being in the lower room, was unfortunately smother'd under the rubbish, as was Francis Strong, one of our people;

people ; and several others were so bruised that their lives were despaired of. By this disaster, we lost our habitation and our friend in an instant ; and had the additional task, when we came from our work every night, to clear away the rubbish, and build the house ourselves in the best manner we were able.

Having pulled down the second wall, the emperor ordered us to leave work for the day.

Next morning, February 20th, 1746-7, the emperor ordered us to dig a trench for the foundation of a new castle, the dimensions of which were to extend twelve yards beyond the walls of the old one. In a fortnight the trench was finished, and we then began to build the walls, which were constructed in the following manner : The materials which had been taken from the old walls were almost reduced to powder and mixed with a quantity of fine loamy earth, well tempered with lime and water. A wooden case, according to the thickness, height, and length of the intended wall, being erected, and well secured from projections, we filled it to the height of about 18 inches with the materials aforesaid, and then

then beat and trod them down till they became like paste. Thus we proceeded, layer upon layer, till we had filled the case; which being removed, left the whole wall as one smooth stone, which hardening in the sun became much stronger than any European structure.

The keeper who had the custody of us at nights was an old man of a spiteful and covetous disposition, who used every means he could devise to draw a profit from our little allowance; and when we seemed displeased at his impositions, he would beat us with great severity. Unable to put up with this treatment, Simon M'Kenzie, John Butler, and John Draycoat deserted their work, and fled to the rebels at Old Fez, which is about half a mile from New Fez, and there turned Mahometans.

Intelligence of their elopement was soon carried to the emperor, who, not knowing the severity that had occasioned it, gave orders for our being more strictly looked to in future. Under sanction of this order, our keeper set no bounds to his cruelty; and would sometimes drag us by the beards till he tore them from us by the roots. On this, we told him plainly, that, if he did
not

not treat us better, we would certainly apply for redress to the emperor himself. This he imagined we had not the resolution to do, and told us, that he had full powers to use his own discretion towards us, and would let us know that *he* was our emperor.

Next day, as the emperor rode by us, Mr. Nelson, one of our midshipmen, got out of the case in which he was at work, and prostrated himself before him. The emperor saw by his countenance that he wanted to ask redress of some grievance, and ordered one of his suite to hear what he had to say. Mr. Nelson intimated, that he could not readily find words to make his case known, and therefore wished that Manss might be suffered to act as his interpreter.

Manss was a Dutchman, who had been a captive above 15 years, and was so much in favour with Muley Abdallah as to have been entrusted with the care of his stores, and had sometimes very large sums of money in his hands.

The emperor immediately sent for Manss, who came with all expedition, having been previously acquainted by us that we should request his assistance, which he was the more ready to give in this affair, as he himself had

M

often

often experienced the tyranny of the same keeper in the former part of his captivity.

After some conference with Mr. Nelson, Mans informed the emperor, that the conduct of our keeper was so cruel that we were in danger of being crippled; that this had been the cause of the elopement of the three who had taken shelter at Old Fez; and that on our telling him we would inform the emperor of his behaviour, he had replied that he would let us know *he* was our emperor.

On hearing this, his majesty cried, *Haw-keda!* as much as to say, *That's fine!* Then being informed, that he had cruelly used four of us the preceding night, these were called before him; and being thus satisfied of the truth, he ordered the keeper to appear in his presence next morning.

When we returned at night, the keeper, having heard of our appeal, shook his stick at us, saying he should have the pleasure of using it on us in the morning by the emperor's order. He did not, however, think fit to exercise it that night, being, perhaps, sufficiently busied in framing pretexts for his usage against the morning. Indeed, we were not without some concern, lest he should

should invent an artful lye which might turn the scale against us.

In the morning, our keeper appeared before the emperor in his best clothes, with his stick in his hand, which was at least four inches in circumference. The four English captives were sent for, viz. Thomas Nelson, William Lucas, Thomas James, and Felix Conway. This Conway, having been a captive above sixteen years, could speak the language well, and was of great use in this affair. The captives having been heard, the emperor asked the keeper what reasons he had for his conduct. The strongest allegation he could make against us was, that we sang and were noisy in the night. The emperor then asked the overseer, if we worked well by day ; and he answered, yes. *Well then, said the emperor to the keeper, if they obey my orders in the day, the night is their own. I never bid you deny them any pleasure, when they could find time to divert themselves. Three are already gone thro' your usage ; and I shall shortly have not one left.* •

Felix Conway, at the instance of Mr. Nelson, told the emperor that the large stick in the keeper's hand was what he beat us with ; on which the emperor ordered four

sticks to be fetched, adding, *Let them be good ones.* The frightened keeper now cried, *Larbe, seede, larbe!* that is, *Pardon, master, pardon!* But the emperor turned a deaf ear to all his entreaties; and the sticks being brought, the culprit was extended on the ground. To each of the four captives was given a stick, with orders to break it on the the keeper's bones, under penalty of having it broke on his own. Whilst they were executing this business, the emperor several times cried out, *Drubel rofs,* that is, *Beat him over the head;* and as fast as they broke their sticks, others were given them. This beating was continued near fifteen minutes; when the emperor, thinking him dead, cried out, *A clofs,* that is, *Enough;* and bid the four return to their labour. On this, they cried, *Liba cama seede,* that is, *Long life to our master;* and departed. The emperor then ordered the old man to be dragged to his own house by the heels; and set a guard to see it punctually done.

On our return at night, we were told that he expired an hour after he was brought home. The captives in general rejoiced at the death of the old man; and said they should think themselves much obliged to the
English,

English, for the courage they had shewn on this and former occasions, as long as they lived.

This affair, however, procured us the greatest hatred of the Moors, who were particularly offended by the emperor's giving the captives (what they thought) the sweet revenge of beating their enemy to death with their own hands. But, happily, the very transaction which made them hate us prevented them from doing us any injury, as it gave them reason to fear a similar punishment, should they attempt it.

Many parts of the country being still in arms, particularly Old Fez, Tangier, Larach, Arzelah, Saaffa, and the province of Beneseens; the malecontents mustered their forces once more, and encamped within a league of the castle of Doer Dabibah, which we were erecting. It being harvest-time, the rebels cut down, burnt, or otherwise destroyed all that stood in their way beyond the reach of the cannon of New Fez.

The Black army encamped on the opposite side of the castle, where they remained ten days, without attempting to repress the insolence of the rebels, who daily sent parties to discharge their musquets as a defiance.

On

On the eleventh day, the rebels advanced in a body within musquet-shot of the castle, and challenged the emperor's forces to an engagement. This was a provocation the Black officers could not pass over, and application was made to the emperor for leave to attack the enemy.

About ten o'clock, the emperor mounted his horse; and in about an hour after, his army were drawn up in order of battle, between the castle and the enemy. In the interim, our overseer took us to the town, and stationed us at the great guns in the towers on the bastions, as the emperor imagined we could manage them better than the Moors, should occasion require it.

At twelve o'clock, orders being given to engage, the Blacks (as their custom is) discharged their pieces all at once, and then rushed on sword in hand with the utmost fury. The bloody conflict was most obstinately maintained for three hours; at which time the rebels were routed with a dreadful slaughter. This, indeed, deserved the name of a victory, as the rebels sustained a loss of three to one, and left their camp and a number of prisoners in the hands of the Blacks. The prisoners were soon brought before the emperor;

emperor ; and by his orders, they were all instantly shot.

Early next morning, we were set to work again at the castle. We had amongst us a poor Spaniard not perfectly in his senses ; and as the emperor rode by, he stood still, and refused to work any longer. The emperor observing this, ordered him to proceed in his labour ; but the poor creature, after staring wildly at his majesty for some time, answered, *I will not. You are not the emperor Muley Mustudy ; by and by he will be my master.* The emperor not understanding him, bid a Portuguese (who waited to take charge of his horse) to explain what he said. This the Portuguese did, without mentioning the insanity of the Spaniard, who continued laughing in the emperor's face. His majesty, enraged at his insolence, ordered two of his attendants to beat him with sticks. This they did with great severity ; and desisting by the emperor's order, the man was asked if he would not return to his work. He nevertheless repeated his crime with a louder voice ; on which he was bastinadoed once more, but to as little effect. A third beating proved his last ; for the blows were now repeated so fast and so severely, that the emperor

emperor thought him dead, and ordered him to be carried to our prison. There a fellow-captive bled him ; but he expired in about an hour.

On sending for the overseer afterwards, to enquire what nation the unfortunate man belonged to, the emperor was informed of his insanity, and reprimanded the overseer very sharply for not acquainting him of it before.

Those who attend on the emperor generally wait at the door of his apartment, and listen to hear if he stirs, that they may be ready to pay obedience to him when he comes out. If any of his servants, who have appointments in other parts of the palace, happen to be conversing with their friends at such time, all is confusion ; each runs to his station, and those whose business it is to stay range themselves as quickly as possible.

On such an occasion, a servant dropt the key of the apartment entrusted to his care. The emperor saw this ; and afterwards rode to his tent, leaving orders for the man to follow him instantly. On his arrival, the emperor demanded the key ; and the servant expressed the greatest concern at not being able to produce it. The emperor then told him,

him, that he should not commit such a fault again; and ordered his brains to be beat out immediately, which was accordingly done, in the presence of a number of us, with an instrument resembling a gardener's hoe.

Two days before the festival of Melute, one of the greatest in the year, the emperor ordered us to come before his tent. On our arrival, we heard him converse with his brothers, concerning admiral Stewart, who had made a grand appearance there, as ambassador from England, in the time of their father Muley Ishmael. After bidding us sit on the ground, he said, by an interpreter, *The Moors shall not fight with the English, because the English never fight with the Moors. The ambassador will come soon; and then you shall all go to your own country.* On this, we cried aloud, *Long life to Muley Abdallah.* A small sum of money was then given us by his order, and we returned to our labour highly pleased at receiving the hope of a release from the emperor's own mouth.

December 20th, 1747, notwithstanding their late defeat, the rebels again encamped in considerable force, near the same spot as before. The emperor also mustered all his strength; and on the third day after their
N appearance,

appearance, having sent us to Fez as before, he gave them battle. The dispute lasted from noon till darkness put an end to it; at which time both parties retreated to their camps, each claiming the victory.

Early next morning, the emperor drew forth his army, and animated them to a second attack by an oration to the following effect: *Friends, I trust you will not easily give up the honour which you have won by so much toil and blood. You have settled and established on the throne a prince of your own choice, whose father often led you to the conquest of your enemies. The foes who now appear in arms against me are your's also, and seek to deprive you of the honour of maintaining (what you have so often sworn to support) my government on the throne of the ever blessed Muley Ishmael. They attempt to set a usurper over you, to whose treason and revenge, if successful, they will most assuredly sacrifice you. The voice of Honour and Religion, and the duty of self-preservation, call on you once more to attack the audacious rebels who have already fled before you. Be therefore united and determined, and they dare not withstand the fury of your victorious arms.*

An account of this speech was given us by a Moor, whose business it was to keep the
flies.

flies from the emperor. This Moor had been a prisoner at Lisbon, from whence he had escaped to Morocco on board an English ship ; and from this circumstance he always shewed a friendship for us.

As soon as the emperor had finished his harangue, the whole army shouted, *Long-life to Muley Abdallah, our sultan !* and denounced destruction on the rebels.

About seven o'clock, the armies began to move ; and at nine, the action became general, and continued doubtful till one, at which time the Black horsemen rode furiously into the midst of the rebels. In this charge they were so well supported by the provincial troops, that the malecontents, after vainly attempting to repel the assault, were obliged to fly to the mountains for shelter, leaving a vast number of slain on the field, and their horses, ammunition, camp-equipage, &c. in the hands of the victors.

Next day the army displayed the spoils in a triumphant manner before the emperor, who received the congratulations of the alcalds on the occasion ; after which the soldiers returned to their tents, and spent the rest of the day in discharging their pieces, feasting, and other acts of rejoicing.

Shortly after this, the Beneseens, under the protection of their mufti or high-priest, whose person and commands are here considered by the vulgar as most sacred, came to the emperor with presents and promises of future obedience. The emperor, willing to induce the rest of his rebellious subjects to follow this example, bid them return home, and endeavour to merit God's forgiveness of their disloyalty, by a peaceable conduct thereafter, and they should find him clement and merciful also.

This had its desired effect. The towns of Arzelah, Larach, and Saaffa made their peace in the same manner. Old Fez likewise sent to the emperor ; but their offer of obedience was accompanied with certain stipulations. These the emperor would not admit of. As the rebel interest declined rapidly and his own advanced in proportion, he would accept of unconditional submission only.

To accomplish the suppression of the rebels, he sent orders to the different provinces, to raise new levies of men and money, and forward them immediately to Doer Dabibah or Bufcoran. Having received considerable aids from the Hianians and other districts, he, on
the

the 5th of June, removed with the army to Bufcoran; where he was joined by 20,000 Beneseens, lately the most numerous and powerful party of his enemies. On this, he sent a strong detachment to the southward, which easily reduced a district from whence the town of Old Fez derived its principal supplies of provisions, &c.

The people of Sallee were now about to sue for peace; but before they had applied to the emperor, their governor was taken, as he was hunting, by a party of Beneseens, and brought prisoner to the royal camp. His majesty very politically took this opportunity also to convince the refractory that they had no great reason to dread the consequence of a ready submission; for he not only gave the governor an immediate pardon, but presented him with a horse, and sent him back to Sallee with a commission to assure the inhabitants of his royal mercy, and to raise supplies for his service; all which the governor very gladly executed.

Before the emperor removed from Doer Dabibah to Bufcoran, he selected four Christian slaves to take care of four of his horses. One of those watched alternately by night, in the manner of his guards. Alexander

Scot,

Scot, one of the four, being one night on this duty, fell asleep with the bridle in his hand, during which the gold breast-plate was stolen from the horse. Soon after the horses were led as usual to the back of the emperor's tent, to wait his rising, and pass his review, that he might choose which he fancied most. Scot, still ignorant of his loss, sat on the ground eating a crust of bread, when an alcaide that used to oversee the horses surprised him with a smart stroke, and cried, *Sirrah, where's your horse's breast-plate?* Scot, looking at the beast, was struck dumb at missing it; and after a minute's reflection ran to consult Mans on the occasion. Getting no advice there, he returned almost frantic to his horse. Each horse, besides the Christian slave, had four Moors to attend it; and the emperor being now rising, his companions left him behind for some time; the Moors telling him at parting, that he must ask the emperor for a new breast-plate, who would either give him one, or a musquet-ball through his body. Soon after, the emperor came to view the horses; and Scot, on account of his loss, was left by his four assistant Moors to answer for it alone. Thus circumstanced he fell on the ground, crying
in

in a piteous tone, *Long live my noble master the great Abdallah! Have mercy upon me! I have lost my horse's breast-plate.* The emperor sent a person to enquire into the matter, and being informed thereof, ordered Scot to go for another immediately. Imagining himself pardoned, Scot ran to the store-keeper, and soon brought his horse before the emperor (who was now at the castle we worked in) with a new breast-plate of silver. He was then bid to wait without the walls; and the emperor sent every one out of the castle except his lanceman and musquet-bearer. As we passed we took a farewell of him, expecting that hour to be his last. He was then ordered before his majesty, who asked him, *Where was you when the breast-plate was stolen?* Scot making frivolous excuses, the emperor levelled the musquet at his head, saying, *Villain, tell me no lies.* He afterwards made feints of killing him with the spear; and Scot fell on his face so frightened, that when taken up he could not stand. The emperor, thinking him sufficiently punished by the terror, dismissed him; but when he came out of the castle, he was kicked, cuffed, spit on, pelted with dirt, and treated with every mark of contempt by the Moorish soldiers; who disapproved

approved of the lenity shewn a Christian for an offence which might possibly have cost an hundred Moors their lives. Next day, however, the care of Scot's horse was given to another Christian.

Three days after, was the Ramadan, a sort of lent kept by the Mahometans by order of their Koran, during which they fast all day from the first appearance of the new moon to that of the next. They not only abstain from eating, and drinking, but dare not wash their mouth, or even swallow their spittle. The men, indeed, may bathe; but they must keep the head above water, lest a drop should enter at the mouth or ears, &c. Women must not bathe at all; and the fast is deemed void if a man kiss or touch them. However, to make amends, they feast all night, and generally spend more in this month than in six others. From this fast travelling and sick persons only are excused; but then they must fast an equal number of days, when the impediment is removed. Breaking this fast is ordered to be expiated by giving alms to the poor. The reason why this fast is kept in the month of Ramadan is because the Koran (as they say) was sent from heaven in this month. This month, in the
course

course of 33 years, this month happens in all the seasons; for the Turks, Arabs, &c. reckon their months from the first appearance of one moon to the first appearance of the next.

The emperor slept most part of the first day of this fast, and the guards diverted themselves as they liked. Among a party at foot-ball was a Moor with a bag at his back, from which hung out the end of the strap belonging to the breast-plate. Scot hearing of this seized him, and, by help of some other captives, carried him before the emperor. His majesty asked him, why he committed the theft; to which he made a very trifling reply. On this the emperor ordered him to be stripped and laid on his back, and six attendants to stand on his arms, legs, head, and breast; which done, he took the knife from his own side, and delivered it to one of the guards, bidding him cut the thief's throat, which was instantly executed. The body was then dragged by a mule to Fez, and exposed in the market-place for a week; when the emperor sent it a pardon, that it might be buried.

After the emperor's removal to Buscoran, our overseers began to shew an inclination

to revenge the death our late keeper; and fought every pretence for beating us, which they often did with great severity. However, we told them resolutely, that the emperor should be acquainted with our treatment, and that we had no doubt of his repaying them with interest for their barbarity. This but enraged them more; and they continually raised accusations against us to the alcaide of Fez, by whose orders we were at nights kept in irons. Mr. Nelson, having been the man who commenced the charge against the late keeper, was particularly marked for vengeance, and, without a charge against him, the alcaide had him laid on his face and bastinadoed till he was nearly expiring.

A report of the emperor's speedy return to Fez, however, quite altered their behaviour. Fearing we should execute our threat of complaining to him, they suffered us to work as we pleased, and would have let us remain idle for a day together.

On the 20th of July, 1748, we had completed the castle of Doer Dabibah, which was of a square form, each side measuring 260 yards long, 8 yards high, and 4 feet thick, and inclosing between 5 and 6 acres of ground. After having finished the building,

ing, we were employed for a considerable time in filling up a large pit, out of which we had dug materials.

The report of the emperor's return to Fez was groundless. From Bufcoran he went to Mequinez, where he received advice that Muley Mustudy was a prisoner at Tangier, the inhabitants of which now offered to deliver him into the hands of Abdallah, as a means of purchasing their pardon.

To this the emperor replied, that he could see little claim they had to mercy, as they had shewn no inclination to submit till they could no longer resist, and had committed a new act of perfidy in offering to betray the man they had solicited to be their leader; wherefore he should grant them no terms till he had received ample satisfaction.

On the news of Muley Mustudy's imprisonment, the people of Old Fez engaged Muley Tibe to intercede with Abdallah in their behalf; and having thus obtained pardon, the city was a scene of rejoicing for three days successively.

Muley Tibe was a priest of eminent rank, and was regarded as a saint by the Moors on the following grounds :—An alcaide of Mequinez had formerly offended Abdallah,

and took sanctuary with Muley Tibe. The emperor demanded the delinquent ; but the priest, unwilling to abate his church-privileges, replied, that he wondered how his majesty could desire him to resign the prerogative which God and the holy prophet Mahomet had given him. Abdallah's rage, however, was too great to give way to Tibe's arguments ; and the priest and alcaide were both brought to him by force. The emperor told Tibe, he would now shew him that he was the greatest saint of the two ; for, let the priest pray as much he pleased, he should not keep on the offender's head ; which was instantly cut off before Tibe's face. The emperor then forced the priest to pay a considerable fine, and threatened him with death on a second disobedience. Tibe, still keeping his claim to divine delegation, told Abdallah, that he should soon be sensible of his rashness in offering such an indignity to a minister of the holy prophet ; and at the very juncture, a violent earthquake luckily took place, which so terrified the emperor, that he instantly restored the fine, and begged the priest's intercession with Mahomet. After this, Tibe was considered as a saint indeed.

On

On the submission of Old Fez its communication with New Fez was opened ; and these being greatest places of the empire for commerce, trade began to revive.

We now received a letter from the ambassador, in which he informed us he should be as speedy as possible in obtaining our discharge. And October 31st, 1748, we had a letter from Mr. Petticrew, to acquaint us, that the bearers of it had the royal orders to conduct us to the alcaide of Tetuan ; at which place he hoped to see us soon ; and that he had provided jillabees (coarse blanket cloaks) and bambouches, and some mules, for our accommodation on the road.

We received inexpressible joy from this news, and were congratulated by the Christian captives of other nations ; who often dropt tears at the thoughts of their own hopeless condition, as nothing but extreme poverty could induce the emperor to release a Spaniard or Portuguese.!

Next morning a courier set off for Mequinez, to inform the emperor that the alcaide of Tetuan's people were come to Fez. He returned in the afternoon of November the 12th ; and about four o'clock, we received orders to leave work, and prepare for our journey

journey to Tetuan, being to set out next morning. Now, indeed, we cried out with sincerity, *Long life to Muley Abdallah !*

When we left work, our Black overseer said, *I have now no more to do with you ; and if you ever catch me in your country, I expect no better usage than you have had here.* We, however, were so well pleased with our affairs, that we passed over this jeering speech.

On our return to our lodgings, Thomas Stanton, Thomas Beale, Emanuel Rochester, and Edward Fitzgerald, four of the youngest of us, were selected by the emperor's order, to be sent to him at Mequinez, there to remain till the ambassador should pay his demands ; and then to be presented without ransom, as a return for the gift sent by his Britanick majesty. They parted from us very sorrowfully, doubting whether they should ever follow us to England.

The next day, however, was spent in procuring provisions for our journey, as no place on the road could supply us. And early on the 14th, we gladly turned out at the first call ; and were conducted two miles from Fez by the alcaide of that city, who delivered us to the guard from Tetuan.

After

After these had taken leave of each other, we proceeded about 300 yards, and then, by desire of our guard, turned round and cried, *Long life to seede Booker* (the alcaide of Fez), concluding with three huzzas.

The weather being fine, we prosecuted our journey with all the mirth imaginable ; and on the evening of the 19th, arrived within 16 miles of Tetuan ; where we were met by another guard, who brought us horses and mules, that we might reach the town next day before it was late. This evening we lay in a pleasant meadow ; and the nights being somewhat cool at this season, we made three large fires, and slept in the center of them, as we had every night before.

Early next morning, we mounted the beasts, and at twelve o'clock saw Tetuan, distant about two miles. As we advanced, we met numbers of the inhabitants, mostly women, who here ride astride.

At the gate of the town we were met by Mr. Petticrew and two or three English merchants who resided there, to whom we bowed as we passed. Within the gate stood * Hedge

* *Hedge*, or *Albedge*, is a religious title of honour, given to those mussulmen who have made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Mahomet at Mecca.

Mahomet Tomim, alcaide of Tetuan, and other heads of the town, with a guard of 200 soldiers. We saluted the alcaide, according to custom, with *Long life to thee, master!* Some of the multitude that crowded round called us *Infidels, Dogs without souls, &c.* however, as often as they were detected, the guard was ordered to knock them down.

We were put into a prison, where we received some stewed mutton, bread, and a cup of wine each, provided by Mr. Petticrew, who visited us about four o'clock, and informed us, that we should be allowed two blanqueens and a half per day, being equivalent to five pence, though he called it six pence, as allowed to prisoners of war. To purchase provisions, some of us were permitted to go about the town; but a guard constantly accompanied us.

In December, we each received a soldier's coat, breeches, shirt, cap, stockings, shoes, and buckles, from his excellency at Gibraltar; and having been so long almost naked, we now fancied ourselves some of the best-dressed gentlemen in Tetuan; and were no less pleased to be stared at, than the men, women, and children were in following us whenever we went about the town.

January

January 2d, 1748-9, in the evening we saw a sail standing into the bay, and next morning, by a glass, from the top of Mr. Petticrew's house, the union-flag was seen at her mast-head, indicating that the ambassador was on board. Mr. Petticrew waited on the alcaide, and then went on board the vessel, which was the *Brave Sherbeck*, captain Haswell, belonging to Gibraltar.

January 4th, in the morning, his excellency landed at *Marteene*, the port where goods are shipped or landed, about six miles below the town. On receiving news of this, we hoisted a union-flag, which we had made for the purpose, on the top of our prison. About seven o'clock, the alcaide sent his best horse for the ambassador's use; and all the Christian merchants went to meet him. At nine, the alcaide set out with the town soldiers. About eleven, the ambassador set off from *Marteene*, the soldiers firing all the way; and on his approaching *Tetuan*, the inhabitants crowded the walls, and the guns were fired to salute him. In short, the day of his entry was a holiday amongst all ranks of the town's people; and it may reasonably be supposed, that we were not behind hand in rejoicings on the occasion.

January 5th, we addressed his excellency on his safe arrival; and, on representing the impaired state of our present habitation, one half of us were removed to another in the Jews Quarter.

Some time elapsing without a step towards our redemption, the alcaide desired his excellency to expedite the business; and after several conferences to no purpose, threatened to shut us up in the Metammor, or town-dungeon. Terrified at this, we sent a memorial to the ambassador on the subject, who answered, that he had done, and should do, every thing towards our redemption, that his instructions would admit of.

February 5th, the alcaide sent for six of us; and Thomas Nelson, Osborn Noble, William Lucas, John Price, John Haynes, and Ephraim Moore we nominated by us to wait upon him. On their arrival, he bid them sit down at his right hand on the mat; and spoke, by his interpreter, as follows: *I have long carried on a great trade with Gibraltar, and have been in many parts of Europe. I have been well used by the Christians, and have a particular esteem for the English. For these reasons I have sent for you, that you may know how I wish to release you. I shewed my readiness to do this,*

this, by getting you hither before the arrival of your ambassador, who now refuses to deposit your redemption-money till you are on board. As you have so long been near the emperor's person, you know his temper and character, and must be sensible how dangerous it would be for me to incur his suspicion of my neglecting to finish this business: I must therefore desire you to inform the ambassador, that this is the last day I can permit you to go about the town.

They then asked the alcaide, if the whole redemption-money for the captives delivered to Mr. Sollicoffre was demanded, without abating the two-thirds thereof, which had been paid the late bashaw Hamet. He replied, *I demand no more than the money for your redemption. The sums due for the last slaves must be settled with the emperor.*

After acquainting the ambassador with what had passed, they returned by his excellency's direction, to inform the alcaide, that the money should be immediately sent for; and to request the continuance of our usual liberty. They at the same time hinted the ambassador's doubt of our being released, if he should pay the money before we were embarked. The alcaide answered, *When I am satisfied the money is on board the ship, you*

shall embark : I desire no payment till then. So tell the ambassador to send for the money ; and in the mean time you shall have your usual indulgence.

The ambassador said he would send for the money by the first vessel that should go to Gibraltar ; and one sailing shortly, we expected her return in two or three days after with the money. The easterly winds prevented her coming back some days ; but on their change to the westward, a vessel arrived from Gibraltar, from the commander of which we could learn no particulars, he only saying, we need not doubt of being soon at Gibraltar.

This night, however, we were drove to our prisons in a very uncivil manner ; and next day the alcaide sent for the fix who had been with him before, and said to them, *I am surprised your ambassador should trifle with me in this manner. A vessel is arrived, but no money. Inform him, therefore, that I expect a positive assurance to-morrow, whether he intends to pay the money or not ; that you may either be discharged, or return to the emperor in irons, for I must delay no longer.* But upon the arguments and entreaties of our people, the alcaide consented to wait the arrival of
another

another ship. And the ambaffador being told of what had paffed, defired us not to defpond, and gave us his promife that it fhould not be long before we got at liberty.

Several veffels arrived without bringing the money ; but as the alcaide did not alter his conduct towards us, we had no doubt of his being fatisfied that affairs were in train for accomplifhing our defires.

Accordingly, March 14th, in the evening, the Brave Sherbeck re-entered the bay, and next morning captain Hafwell came to the ambaffador's. At two o'clock, the alcaide fent for us all in a great hurry ; and we obeyed his fummons immediately, though not without fome anxiety, as we imagined the prefent hour would produce our enlargement, or re-commit us to the miferies of flavery.

When we came before the alcaide, we ranged ourfelves in a line, and he picked out the following twenty-five : John Crook, Edward Hutchins, William Earl, Thomas Jones a Black, John Linguift, Kinfce Betten, Arthur Price, John Haynes, Thomas Bell, Thomas Pearce, William Hudfon, Thomas Lawfon, John Trot, John Gibfon, George Edger, Ephraim Moore, James Wells, John Buckland,

Buckland, James Pridham, Richard Gough, James Bartie, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Belfon, Felix Conway, and Timothy Sullivan. The alcaide then directed Felix Conway to acquaint us, that those he had picked out were to embark to-morrow, and the rest to stay some short time longer, as there was not money enough yet arrived to redeem all.

Those who had been selected were lodged that night in a house by themselves; and next morning, March 16th, they received a certificate each from the ambassador, who dismissed them with wishes for a happy voyage to England. About noon, they were received without the walls by Mr. Petticrew, captain Haswell, and the alcaide, and found twelve mules prepared to assist them in their journey to Martene, the roads being very bad through heavy rain.

They had not gone far before a shower came on, and the alcaide remarked, that, as the weather was likely to be bad, it might be better for us to defer the journey. Mr. Petticrew, from observation of the alcaide's countenance, suspected that he was in fear of the emperor's displeasure for letting us embark without his knowledge, and said to him plainly, *If you do not care to part with them,*

them, when do you expect to touch the money? Do you think the governor of Gibraltar will offer it a second time, or ever take your word again? or can you suppose the merchants, when they hear of the breach of your word, will think themselves safe in trading with you? On this, the alcaide agreed to their proceeding; and some mounted the mules, whilst those who went on foot marched with such spirit that they got to Martene before the riders. On arriving there, two Moors were sent in a boat to get the money from the ship; on receipt of which, they were to hoist and strike the boat's ensign three times; at which signal the English were to put off shore, and the Moors to return. The signal being given at three o'clock, the released tumbled over each other into two boats, with joy inexpressible; and being got aboard, returned most sincere thanks to God for their deliverance.

On the 19th they set sail, and next day reached Gibraltar; from whence they sailed on the 27th, in his majesty's ship the Crown; and arrived at Portsmouth on May 11th. Setting out for London immediately, they delivered a representation of their sufferings to the king, who graciously ordered a bounty of 5l. each man; to which the Prince of
Wales

Wales added 50l. to be divided amongst the whole.

When the Brave Sherbeck left the bay of Tetuan, on the 19th of March, 1749, we, the remaining twenty-seven, beheld her departure with longing eyes. We, however, consoled each other with the hope of her speedy return to fetch us, little imagining that our captivity was to endure almost two years longer.

About three weeks after, his excellency was informed that a vessel was entering the bay. By help of a glass, he knew her to be his majesty's ship the *Nightingale*, which, as he had been advised, was to bring money from Cadiz for our redemption. And the same evening, Mr. Petticrew waited on the alcaide, to acquaint him with its arrival.

Our hearts were now elated with the hope a release next day ; but to our great mortification, Mr. Petticrew brought advice that the alcaide had received new orders from the emperor, not to part with us till he had received the whole redemption-money for the captives delivered to Mr. Sollicoffre, who had paid 8,201l. to the late bashaw Hamet, which that officer had applied to the support of a rebellion against Muley Abdallah, who
would

would not, therefore, allow the payment to be duly made. The other sum remaining due for us was 4,399l. 1s. and 350 Mexico dollars as head-money.

Next day, the ambassador visited the alcaide, and represented to him, that the late bashaw had refused to let Mr. Sollicoffre take away the captives till he had paid him the 8,201l. and if the money had not been remitted to the emperor, the bashaw's family ought to account for it. He was, therefore, ready to pay the 4,399l. 1s. and the head-money, as agreed, for us, but no more.

The alcaide then told the ambassador, that, if the emperor's claims were not satisfied, he should put us into the Metammor, and send us in irons, and his excellency with us, to the emperor; and moreover that corsairs would be directed to attack the British merchant-ships, which would increase the number of captives, and consequently raise the emperor's demands.

Upon this, his excellency dispatched Mr. Stevens, first lieutenant of the *Nightingale*, with an account of his situation, to England. And so confident was the alcaide of the success of his threats, that he wrote the emperor he had actually received the 4,399l. 1s.

and the head-money for us. Mr. Stevens left Tetuan the 28th of April, and returned in about two months.

The alcaide, finding no money likely to arrive, was with difficulty dissuaded from sending us back to Fez; and his excellency, to prevent an attack on the British vessels, gave him a promissory note for the payment of his whole demand in two months.

This time being elapsed also without payment, and the emperor sending a pressing demand for the money to the alcaide, he was obliged to raise the sum, which he had told the emperor he had received, by contribution from the town. Vexed at this, he put us into the *Metammor*, a deep and damp dungeon, where day-light never entered; and, after abusing the ambassador, wrote a letter of complaint against him to the governor of Gibraltar.

In the beginning of September, Mr. Petticrew set off for England, to lay the state of affairs before the ministry. And after we had been in the *Metammor* three weeks, commodore Keppel entered the bay with his squadron. The commodore promised to pay the 4,399l. 1s. which the alcaide now consented to take, and to wait for the rest
till

till answers arrived from England. Upon this, we were released from the dungeon; but, as the commodore did not perform his promise, we were soon obliged to re-enter it.

The ambassador had written to the governor of Gibraltar, requesting him to send the 4,399*l.* which was in his possession; and the governor now sent an answer to his excellency, with a sharp letter of reproof to the alcaide, but no money. Enraged at this, the alcaide ordered the ambassador's house to be invested by a party of soldiers, who dragged away his secretary, Mr. Charles Sturgis, tore his clothes, and tumbled him, with a Portuguese servant of the ambassador, into our dungeon. The ambassador himself was arrested, and a set of heavy irons were brought into his house, which would have been put on him, had not the English merchants interposed with the alcaide. Two Blacks were placed at his street-door, and two military ruffians at the door of his chamber. Not a letter could reach him till it was opened by the alcaide, and interpreted by two English apostates. No one could visit him, not even the Jew who used to shave him. His property was seized, and part of the presents intended for the emperor.

After the secretary had lain 23 days in the Metammor, which was a pit 20 feet deep, kept damp by springs which arose in it, and without light or air, except what entered at a little hole at top, thro' which the Moors cast dead dogs, cats, stones, &c. upon us; we say, after the secretary had lain there 23 days, his health was so impaired that his life was in danger; which being represented to the alcaide, he was permitted to go to the ambassador's, but not to stir abroad without a guard.

In addition to these indignities, the alcaide wrote an account of what he done to the governor of Gibraltar, with a threat of seizing the effects of the English merchants in Tetuan. General Bland, then governor of Gibraltar, immediately shewed his resentment of the insult offered his royal master in the person of his ambassador, by seizing the Moorish merchants, and their effects, within his jurisdiction; and informing the alcaide, that he would send no money till he had express so to do from England.

During these transactions, we lay 50 days in the Metammor, the horrors of which were increased by the reduction of our allowance to one blanqueen per day, the laying out of
which

which we were obliged to entrust to the Moors, who generally cheated us in their accounts, and sometimes kept the whole. The prices of provisions were besides raised enormously by a plague and famine, which reigned throughout the country; and we were deprived of many assistances we had occasionally received, as the present dispute had cut off the common correspondence with Gibraltar, and the English traders were fearful of approaching Tetuan, lest they should be laid hold of.

The spirited conduct of governor Bland produced a clamour amongst the Moorish merchants against the alcaide, who had enemies enough among the principal men in Tetuan; he therefore lost all hopes of succeeding by severities. Accordingly, he liberated the ambassador and his household; and we once more beheld the cheering light of the sun, and breathed in open air. The commerce with Gibraltar was also restored to its ordinary course.

We were not, however, allowed to remain idle. A few days after we left the Metamorphosis, we were taken to a place on the river, at some distance from the town-walls, and there set to assist the shipwrights, who were building

building a forty-oared galley, which was to mount 9 carriage guns and 20 swivels, and carry 250 men. Her keel was 90 feet long, her breadth 20. In this employment, we continued some months, being led in the morning from the prison we were put into at our arrival at Tetuan, and reconducted to it at night; and though many of the Moors who worked with us died of the plague, not one of us were attacked by it.

November, 1750, Mr. Petticrew returned to Gibraltar, and from thence to Tetuan. After waiting on the ambassador and alcaide, and settling the terms of our redemption, he went back to Gibraltar for the money.

Before Mr. Petticrew's return with the money, the animosities between the alcaide and the principal men in Tetuan increased to such height, that they resolved upon his death. Accordingly, as he was at prayers in one of the mosques, or churches, one of a set of hired ruffians stabbed him in the neck, and the rest immediately plunged their daggers into his body, and left him dead on the spot. The commission of such a deed in such a place was considered by the generality of the people as an abominable profanation, the mosques being allowed sanctuaries for the worst of criminals. One

One Lúchus being now chosen alcaide by the inhabitants, he sent a present to the emperor, who confirmed his election, and gave him a commission to continue the business respecting us.

Mr. Petticrew waited at Gibraltar till he should have information of the new alcaide's power to proceed in our affairs; and having received a copy of the emperor's instructions to the alcaide, he entered the bay of Tetuan, in his majesty's ship the Sea-Horse, on the 7th of December, 1750; and immediately sent the alcaide notice of his arrival; upon which we were ordered to the water-side for embarkation.

Next day, Mr. Petticrew waited on the ambassador and alcaide; and after ceremonies were finished, we were ordered into the boats that were to take us on board the Sea-Horse. This was so eagerly executed, that we ran into the water as high as our waists, each thinking himself happiest, if he could get in first. At putting off, we gave the ambassador, Mr. Petticrew, and the gentlemen who accompanied them, three cheers, which they kindly answered, and we repeated the salute. Being on board, we sailed that evening, and on the 9th cast anchor in the bay of Gibraltar;

Gibraltar, from whence we returned to England as speedily as opportunities offered.

It will be recollected, that we four, George Beale, Thomas Stanton, Edward Fitzgerald, and Emanuel Rochester, were selected from our fellow-captives, at Old Fez, on the 12th of November, 1748, in order to be presented without ransom, when the emperor's claims should be satisfied.

On our separation from the rest, we were conducted, under guard, to a den in which the emperor's lions had been kept; from whence we were removed to a place wherein doves had been fed. This was a most unfavourable dwelling, in which we had a stinking fox for a fellow-prisoner.

After laying there three days and three nights, with very little food, we were ordered to the emperor at Mequinez; and in two days we reached that city.

The emperor had been ill sometime, and being recovered, was gone to the mosque, it being Friday, the Mahometan sabbath. On his return to the palace, he went to a tent, and sent for us. When we came before him, we paid him the customary homage; after which he asked Fitzgerald what his name was. Fitzgerald answered, *Ned*. To which the

the emperor replied, *Then, Ned, here's something for you*; giving him about a pound of bread to be divided amongst us. He then ordered a saddle-horse to be given to the care of each of us. This office obliged us to be up every morning at four o'clock, as much time and pains were required to put the horses in the condition the emperor desired. We first washed and scraped them very clean, and then gave them a polish all over with our bare hands.

An inhabitant of Mequinez had been married 14 years, and went to a distant part of the country, promising his wife to return as soon as circumstances should permit. After a long interval, she took the title of a widow and got another husband. The absentee, hearing of this, returned to Mequinez, and demanded his wife. The man in possession refused to part with her, and the first husband appealed to the emperor. Upon this, both husbands, the wife, and her two brothers, were ordered into the royal presence; where the plaintiff stated his case. The emperor then ordered the men to stand on one side, and the woman other. *Now*, said he, *I will administer the same justice as my great father hath shewn on a like occasion*; and bid the woman

R

choose

choose the man she liked best. She preferred the new husband; and the other three men were shot by order of the emperor, who told the couple to go home and live happily, as he had cut off all occasion of jealousy.

Not long after our arrival, there was a mutiny in the Black army. A vast multitude of the soldiers surrounded the palace, and demanded a large arrear of pay which they said was due to them, and also a restoration of their long guns, which had been put into the emperor's magazines when the late rebellion ceased. The emperor told them; that if they then dispersed quietly, and came next morning in a dutiful manner, affairs should be settled to their satisfaction; but if they persisted to act in defiance of his authority, they should soon feel the weight of his resentment. Upon this they departed, though not altogether satisfied.

Next morning, the guns were brought forth by the emperor's order, and laid on the ground about a quarter of a mile from the palace. When the soldiers returned, they entered the palace-gate in a tumultuous and insolent manner; but the emperor resolving not to see them, after they had some time waited without receiving the money required,

required, they took the arms and marched off in disgust. The emperor, however, sent them word, that he would give them the money on the following Friday, and in the mean time sent an express to New Fez, commanding the Leudiers (a body of stout disciplined men quartered there, on whom the emperor principally relied) to send 500 of their corps immediately to his aid.

This was so speedily executed, that they arrived next morning, and the emperor returned with them to Doer Dabibah before it was generally known they had been at Mequinez.

The keeper of his majesty's palace, store-houses, &c. expected that the Black army, on hearing of the emperor's flight, would have attempted to pillage those places; and he accordingly locked up the gates, and would suffer no one to go in or out. In this conjuncture, we were made close prisoners, and were so little regarded, that we received not the least sustenance for three days and two nights.

When the emperor arrived at Doer Dabibah, he grew fullen, and spoke to no one for three days. At the end of that time, he wrote to the commander of the Blacks,

R 2

telling

telling him, that he expected his wives and Christian slaves to be allowed to come to him immediately ; which, after consultation, the army agreed to. And now we, who had just refreshed ourselves with two or three meals after our long fast, were obliged to march 35 miles on foot to Fez, carrying a heavy musquet, without a morsel to eat all the way.

On our arrival at Doer Dabibah, we were again imprisoned, but not without victuals, for three days ; at the end whereof, we were set to digging up the ground ; and afterwards to our old employments of attending horses, and demolishing walls.

After some time the Blacks began to wish for reconciliation, and the emperor's youngest son undertook the office of mediator. On admission to his father, he represented that the army had recovered a sense of their duty, and desired his majesty's pardon of their ill conduct. However, the emperor's temper had been so much soured by the mutiny, that he would not listen to his son in the least ; and (though he had not seen him for seven years) he drove him from his presence with a threat of punishing him for undertaking the business he had. In short, the emperor's behaviour

behaviour about this time was constantly savage and bloody.

As the emperor was one day looking on us, whilst we were demolishing an old wall, a person of distinction, who was thought a favourite, made complaint of one who had stolen his horse. The emperor having taken some secret disgust at him, without the least expostulation, ordered six of his attendants to shoot him through the head ; and they instantly laid the complainant dead at his feet. The body was then dragged to a convenient distance, and left to rot above ground, as the emperor never ordered its interment.

Another day, the emperor saw three persons of quality walking near the ornamental borderings in his garden ; and, imagining they had trespassed beyond them, he immediately ordered them to be brought to him, and laid on their backs. This done, he took his lance and ran it thro' their hearts ; and ordered their bodies to remain unburied some days.

The same day, as he was going to mount his horse, he was balked by the stirrup's slipping ; on which he bid the person who kept the flies from him to shoot the man that brought the horse ; which was instantly
done,

dene, and the body exposed with the other three.

Next day, two boys at play making more noise than he liked, he sent a messenger from his apartment in the castle, to see what was the matter. The messenger brought word that the disturbance was made by two Christian slaves ; on which the emperor ordered them to be brought in. The lads being produced, his majesty asked the messenger how he dared tell him a lie, and immediately drew his sword, and cut the throats of all three.

In 1750, there fell, near Fez, a shower of hail-stones so large that all the fruits of the earth were destroyed for a considerable way round, and many cattle killed ; which raised the price of provision very much.

At the same time, the plague raged thro' the whole empire, particularly in Old and New Fez ; in the former of which 900 persons died in a day, in the latter above 500. This great mortality would not admit of regular interments ; so that the dead bodies were piled on the backs of mules and camels, and conveyed to the grave by loads.

A Moor, who was at work for the emperor with us, was lamenting before his majesty that

that his brother was dead of this pestilence, and he had not means of paying for his interment. The emperor grew angry at his mentioning such a matter in his presence, and ordered eight men to toss him into the air till his bones were broke ; after which he bid the dead body to go keep his brother company.

To enumerate the acts of barbarity committed by this tyrant is impossible. The most credible reporters informed us, that in the 24 years from his accession, he had massacred 10,000 Blacks and 7,000 Whites.

Just at this time, Fitzgerald received advice from our brethren at Tetuan of the ambassador's arrival ; and a few days after, as we were leading the emperor's horses, he asked Fitzgerald, why the ambassador did not bring the money. Fitzgerald replied, that he hoped his excellency would soon come to Fez with the ransom-money and a present from the king of Great-Britain. The emperor then said the ambassador was come with no other view than to cheat him of the money ; and bid Fitzgerald tell him the truth, or he would make him swallow the contents of his gun ; adding, that he would send orders to Tetuan, to put his excellency

cellency in irons, and give him the *bastinado* to the bargain.

This threat frightened us greatly. However, we were soon relieved by a letter from Mr. Petticrew, acquainting us, that he was about to bring the money and presents from Gibraltar. Accordingly, he soon arrived at New Fez; and the money and presents were sent to the emperor the same day; but as the weather continued bad, he could not see his majesty for six days, during which he lodged with a Jew, in the quarter occupied by that people, at New Fez.

On one of the Moorish holidays, Mr. Petticrew and his suite waited on the emperor in the following order: Mr. Petticrew rode singly in front; six gentlemen, who came from Gibraltar on purpose to add dignity to his appearance, followed two and two; and six servants, in the same order, closed the procession. As they approached the castle, the emperor met them on horseback, and kissing his hand, cried, *Bono, bono, English*. Mr. Petticrew and his company then saluted his majesty, who ordered 500 soldiers to fire their musquets as a return of their compliments, which concluded the ceremony, and the English returned to Fez.

Here

Here we were detained 20 days by the excessive rains ; for the country being mountainous, and no trouble taken in repairing roads or erecting bridges, the waters swell the rivers and cover the vallies to such extent as to render travelling very dangerous.

We were all impatient to be gone, and set out rather too soon ; for in our first day's march, we found the river Sabu so swelled that we were obliged to send back to Fez for planks to form a raft, to ferry ourselves and our baggage over on ; but when the planks were brought, they were of such heavy wood they sunk with the least burthen ; so that we were obliged to get sheep-skins, and fill them with air in manner of blown bladders, which being tied to the raft supported it to our wish, and a Moor having acrosted with a rope, the men and baggage were hauled over on the stage, and the horses and mules swam the river. This night Mr. Petticrew pitched his tent on a hill at a small distance ; to which place we were employed to remove the baggage. This kept us at work till midnight, and from four next morning till four in the afternoon ; during which we received very little refreshment, a want we little expected to feel under Christian masters.

At six in the evening we decamped, and marched six miles to Harkeka, where we again pitched tent. The fatigue we had undergone at the river Sabu had so exhausted Fitzgerald's strength, and our path was so covered with stones and briars, that it was with the greatest difficulty he got to the end of this evening's journey. Indeed, he applied to Mr. Petticrew for leave to ride one of the mules, and was promised that indulgence during the rest of the journey; but that gentleman was in general so very attentive to his own convenience, that he forgot this promise, and had no time to bestow on our accommodation.

Next day's march being made in fine weather, the gentlemen amused themselves in shooting wild fowl, which crossed our road in great plenty. This day we proceeded near 40 miles.

Next day we reached the river Workeo, which we crossed in the manner we did the Sabu; we had, however, better fare here, as a bullock was purchased and dressed, of which we came in for a share.

We had now accomplished the most troublesome part of our journey, and next day reached the town of Beni-Auregagen, where

was

was a sort of market, and plenty of beef, mutton, fish, bread, &c. Mr. Petticrew and the gentlemen dined here on a fine dish of fish, and loaves were given us. After this, we proceeded to Darcober, where our masters refreshed themselves with good liquors, and came to resolution of travelling all night, in order to reach Tetuan, which we did next day about noon.

Here we lodged at a Jew's, and were allowed three blanqueens per day during our stay, which was about five weeks.

In the course of this time, Mr. Petticrew employed us to paint his house; and having finished the job, we expected a reward. Instead of this, we were sent for, and charged with having spoken disrespectfully of him. We averred our innocence; but he paid no regard to this, and sent to the alcaide for a guard of soldiers, who lodged us in a prison for that night. Next day the guard brought us to him again, and he gave them a crown, which he said should be deducted from our allowance. He bid us not be refractory, as he would take care to mortify us if we displeased him; and on leaving the house, the servant bid us come there no more, and think ourselves well off in the lenity shewn.

On the 11th of April, 1751, the Nightingale man of war anchored in the bay; the captain of which had brought money to satisfy the emperor for 4 Spaniards and 4 Hanoverians, whose release we waited for.

On the 12th, we went to the port, and the money being deposited, we got into the Nightingale's boat. At putting off, we forgot Mr. Petticrew's ill treatment of us, and took leave of him and the barbarians with three hearty huzzas.

The wind being unfair, we were three days and nights on our way to Gibraltar; where we staid a fortnight. We shipped ourselves for London on board the Tyber and Julius Cæsar, the first of which arrived in the river Thames May 30th, and the latter on the 2d of June. And about a month after our happy return, we received his majesty's bounty of 5l. per man.

The kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, now one empire, are formed out of the Roman province anciently called Mauritania Tingitana, situated at the north-west extremity of Africa, washed on the north by the waters of
the

the Mediterranean and the Streights of Gibraltar, and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean. On the east lay Mauritania Cæsariensis, now the state of Algiers; and on the south Gætulia, now the province of Tafilet, annexed to the Morocco empire; which all together is at present reckoned to extend about 500 miles in length and 450 in breadth.

The history of the country is very obscure till about a century before the birth of Christ, when we find Bocchus, its king, assisting Jugurtha the Numidian against the Romans. This part of the world then knew little of the Romans, and was little known by them, till Jugurtha, hard pressed by their general Marius, applied to his father-in-law Bocchus for assistance. Their conjoined forces, however, could not withstand that of the Romans, with whom Bocchus made his peace, by treacherously delivering up the husband of his daughter to grace the triumph of Marius.

In the year 46 before Christ, Bogud, king of part of Mauritania, joined the arms of Julius Cæsar in the subjection of the elder Juba, his neighbour; and in the year following had a share in Cæsar's victory over Cneius Pompey, at Munda in Spain. It is said

said the Roman made very valuable presents to the Moor, who did not scruple to allow him the embraces of his queen Eunoe in return. After Cæsar's assassination, he sided with Antony against Octavius, and made a diversion in favour of the former in Spain; but whilst absent on this business, he lost his own kingdom by the revolt of his subjects, who were assisted by Octavius in fixing a second Bocchus on the throne.

Before Christ 43, Octavius (then Augustus Cæsar) confirmed Bocchus's acquisition, and granted the inhabitants of Tingis the privileges of Roman citizens.

Juba the younger, a child, was delivered on the death of his father to Cæsar, who bestowed such a noble education on him, that he afterwards equalled some of the most learned Greeks. He continued at Rome till Augustus (B. C. 30) gave him the government of Mauritania. His subjects enjoyed such blessings under him, that they ranked him among their gods. He had married Cleopatra, daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, and, after a long reign, was succeeded (in the year 30 after Christ) by Ptolomy Selené, his son.

This

This prince, about 10 years after, was invited to the court of the emperor Caligula, who, either from envy of the attention paid him at Rome, or a desire of seizing his riches, caused him to be arrested, banished, and assassinated.

On receiving news of Ptolemy's death, *Ædemon*, his freedman, took arms to resist the Romans. Claudius, succeeding Caligula in 41, sent an army to reduce him, which being reinforced the following year, the whole country, from the Mediterranean to Mount Atlas, submitted to the emperor, who divided it into two provinces, and set a Roman knight over each. To the western province (comprehending the present empire of Morocco) he gave the name of *Mauritania Tingitana*, from *Tingis*, its capital city, now *Tangiers*: The eastern (now the Algerine territory) he called *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, from *Cæsar*, a surname which he had in common with the other Roman emperors.

In the state of a Roman province the country remained during 400 years.

Before the middle of the third century, however, the Romans had long experienced the valour of the Lower Germans. Various tribes of these, united under the title of
Franks.

Franks or Freemen, left the banks of the Rhine, and, in the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus (between the years 250 and 260) marched through Gaul into Spain, which being exhausted by their depredations, a party of them took shipping and transported themselves across the Straights of Gibraltar, to plunder the fruitful provinces of Mauritania.

The African Christians soon formed one principal member of the church; and the practice in these parts, of appointing bishops to inconsiderable towns and villages, magnified the splendor and importance of their religious societies, which in the third century were animated by the zeal of Tertullian, directed by the abilities of Cyprian, and adorned by the eloquence of Lactantius.

Early in the fourth century, the peace of the Africans was disturbed by the double election of a bishop of Carthage. Cæcilian and Majorinus were the rivals; and the early death of the latter made way for Donatus. Cæcilian's party had elected him without waiting the arrival of the Numidian bishops; and these elected Majorinus. The controversy was tried in five successive tribunals appointed by the emperor Constantine; and

and at the end of three years, Cæcilian was declared primate of Africa. The Donatists refused obedience to one they deemed a usurper, and being themselves excommunicated, they excommunicated their adversaries in return. They rebaptized and reordained their proselytes; and whenever they obtained the possession of a church that had been used by their antagonists, they washed the pavement, scraped the walls, burnt the altar, which was generally of wood, melted the plate, and cast the holy eucharist to the dogs. The contending parties were mixed, yet separated, in all the cities of Africa; which were distracted for 300 years by this schism, till Christianity itself was expelled by the religion of Mahomet.

Though proscribed by the laws, the Donatists maintained their superior numbers in some provinces, and 400 bishops acknowledged the jurisdiction of their primate. The attempt to restore the unity of the church by the sword of the magistrate increased the mutual hatred. The ferocious and illiterate peasants of Numidia and Mauritania, imperfectly subdued by the Romans, and as imperfectly converted to Christianity, supported the cause of their Donatist teachers with a

T

furious

furious zeal. The violence which banished their bishops, demolished their churches, and interrupted their assemblies was repelled with equal violence. Driven from their native villages, they assembled on the edge of the Gætulian desert, and exchanged the habits of labour for a life of rapine. Their leaders assumed the title of Captains of the Saints; their principal weapon was a huge club, which they termed an Israelite; and *Praise be to God* was their cry of war. At first their depredations were coloured by a plea of necessity, but they soon became licentious tyrants, and burnt the villages they had plundered. They pretended to restore the primitive equality of mankind; slaves and debtors flocked to their standard; and the the slightest resistance provoked them to murder. These Circumcelliones (as they were called) sometimes engaged and defeated the troops of the province. In 348, the emperor Constans sent Macarius to suppress them; and at Bagai they unsuccessfully attacked an advanced guard of his army. The action was bloody and decisive; and the Donatist captives died, glorying as martyrs, either by the sword, the axe, or the fire.

In the year 364, the Roman Empire was divided by Valentinian, who gave the provinces of the East to his brother Valens. and of those of the West, which he retained, the Mauritanix were a part.

The Africans had long groaned under the tyranny and avarice of Romanus, their military governor. Nabal, one of the most powerful Moorish princes that acknowledged the supremacy of Rome, left, by his wives and concubines, a numerous issue; the inheritance of his riches was disputed; and Zamma, one of his sons, was slain by his brother Firmus. Romanus, from hatred or avarice, prosecuted the legal revenge of this murder with implacable zeal; and Firmus saw he must either present his neck to the executioner, or trust to his own sword. The Africans received him as the deliverer of his country. Cæsarea was plundered and burnt (A. D. 372); the refractory saw the danger of resistance, and Firmus seemed only to doubt, whether he should take the diadem of a Moorish king, or the purple of a Roman emperor. In the year following, however, Theodosius, the general of Valentinian, appeared with a small band of veterans; and Firmus affected to solicit the imperial cle-

mency, whilst he secretly endeavoured to seduce the troops, and engage the independent Gætulians to assist him. The wary Theodosius received and dismissed him with a friendly embrace ; but he suspected, and soon discovered, a dark conspiracy. The guilty were abandoned, according to custom, to the fury of military execution, or suffered the amputation of both their hands. Firmus escaped to Mount Atlas ; and Theodosius followed with his little army, seldom more than 3500 men. The military skill of their leader repeatedly repulsed and vanquished armies of 20,000 Moors ; and Firmus, to avoid being delivered up by Igmazen, king of the Ifasenses, with whom he had taken shelter, strangled himself in the night.

Gildo obtained, as a reward of his seeming fidelity, the forfeited possessions of his brother Firmus ; he had long served in the Roman armies, and was raised to the dignity of a military count. Theodosius the emperor (son of the general) invested him with the command of Africa ; he soon usurped the administration of justice and the finances ; and for twelve years (from 386 to 398) kept possession of an office, from which he could not be removed without the danger of a civil war.

war. If the guests who were invited to his table expressed their just fears of his poison, he loudly summoned his executioners. The wives and daughters of his subjects were prostituted to his lust, and then delivered to the black or swarthy guardians of his throne. The death of Theodosius, and the discord of his sons Honorius and Arcadius, confirmed the power of Gildo. He was, however, accused to the senate by Stilicho, the minister and general of the Western Empire, and condemned as a rebel. The subsistence of Rome depended on the harvests of Africa, and it was feared a declaration of war might provoke the Moor to withhold the usual supplies of corn; but a resource was found in the provinces of Gaul; and Honorius committed the conduct of the war in Africa to Stilicho. The discordant spirit of the sons of Nabal still subsisted; and Mascezel, to avoid the deadly fury of his brother, had fled to the imperial court at Milan; where he soon heard of the murder of his children by their inhuman uncle. Stilicho gave the command of the troops to the enraged father; and Gildo was prepared with an army of 70,000 men to resist his attack. In the face of this host of naked and disorderly barbarians,
 whose

whose left arm, instead of a shield, was protected only by a mantle, who were disarmed as soon as they had darted their javelins, Mascezel encamped with his 5,000 veterans. After a delay of three days, he gave the signal for a general engagement; and advancing in front with offers of peace and pardon, he encountered one of the foremost standard-bearers of the Africans; and on his refusing to yield, struck him on the arm with his sword. The standard sunk with the blow, and the supposed act of submission was repeated by all the standards in the line. The cohorts that had been seduced by Gildo now proclaimed the name of Honorius, their lawful sovereign; the barbarians fled in confusion; and Mascezel obtained an easy and almost bloodless victory. Gildo escaped to the coast, and took ship in hope of reaching some friendly port in the Eastern Empire of Arcadius; but an adverse wind forced him into the harbour of Tabraca; and the inhabitants, to prove the return of their loyalty to Honorius, confined him in a dungeon, where he copied the example of suicide which had been set by his brother Firmus.

In 427, Boniface, governor of Africa, being recalled from that charge by the em-
press

press Placidia, and doubting his personal safety at an intriguing court, took the resolution of retaining his government, and armed the provinces in his defence. Though he successfully eluded or repelled the first endeavours to reduce him, he was conscious of his inability to resist the regular forces of the Western Empire at the head of the disorderly Africans. The Vandals, Suevi, and Alani had crossed the Pyrenees, and had desolated Spain for twenty years by their attacks on the imperial subjects, and by their mutual discords. The Vandals had obtained a superiority by the defeat of the Suevic and the Roman forces. In this conjuncture, Boniface dispatched a friend to the camp of Gonderic, their king, with the proposal of an alliance and the offer of a settlement. The death of Gonderic served only to forward the enterprize. He was succeeded by his bastard-brother the terrible Genferic; a prince of middle stature, and lamed in one leg by a fall from his horse; slow and cautious in speech, averse to luxury, irascible, vindictive, ambitious, politic, and brave. The proposals of Boniface were accepted; but in the moment of his departure, Hermanric, king of the Suevi, presumed to ravage the
the

the territory which Genferic was about to abandon. Enraged at the insult, he pursued the flying Suevi, drove their king and his army into the river Anas, and calmly returned to embark his victorious troops, who crossed the Herculean Streight (now the Streight of Gibraltar) in vessels furnished by the Spaniards who wished their departure, and by the African general who had asked their assistance.

The Alani were already under the command of Genferic; the hope of plunder had excited many Gothic adventurers, and the desire of repairing their fortunes by the same means which had ruined them, united some provincials to the Vandals: Yet this various multitude amounted only to 50,000 effective men; but the discontents of Africa soon furnished numerous allies. The Mauritanians towards Gætulia and the Atlantic had rather been exasperated than subdued by the Roman arms; and when the first difficulties, arising from a mutual ignorance of each other's language, were somewhat removed, the Moors joined the Vandals, to revenge themselves on the Romans who had expelled them from their native soil. Nor was the persecution of the Donatists a little instrumental

mental in increasing to the powers of Genferic, whom these fanatics considered as a deliverer.

The empress Placidia (who governed during the minority of her son Valentinian III.) was astonished at the conduct of Boniface, whose fidelity and services she had been much indebted to. An ambassador was sent to confer with him ; and Boniface and Placidia were soon convinced of the treachery of Ætius, his political rival, who had instigated the empress to the recal, and the governor to a revolt. The repentance of Boniface was sincere, and the Roman garrisons returned with their general to the allegiance of Valentinian ; but Genferic, rejecting all terms of accommodation, refused to relinquish the possessions he had obtained. The troops of Boniface (A. D. 430) were defeated ; and the victorious Germans, ravaging the open country, confined the Romans within the walls of Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo Regius. This populous and fertile region, the granary of the Roman Empire, was on a sudden desolated from Tangier to Tripoli ; the avarice and licentiousness of the Vandals and Moors, and the religious fury of the Donatists, spread general destruction.

Boniface, however, retained the possession of Hippo (now Bona) to which the sea was open, till, after fourteen months siege, the Vandals were obliged to relinquish the enterprize by the famine their excesses had occasioned.

The empress solicited and obtained the assistance of the emperor of the East ; and when the forces of the two empires had united, Boniface boldly led them against the enemy ; but a second defeat (A. D. 431) irretrievably decided the fate of Africa.

Eight years, however, elapsed from the flight of the Roman general and evacuation of Hippo to the reduction of Carthage. In this interval, Genseric negotiated a peace, and consented to restore the Mauritanias to Valentinian, who published many humane laws to relieve the distressed inhabitants.

This pacific action of Genseric was, however, the effect rather of his policy than of his justice. He had, indeed, sacrificed the sons of his brother Gonderic and their mother ; and, on suspicion of a conspiracy to poison him, he had amputated the nose and ears of the wife of his son Hunneric, and sent her thus mutilated to the Gothic court of her royal father Theodoric at Thoulouse, whose

whose revenge the artful Vandal found means to frustrate, by inciting the Huns to an invasion of Gaul: But the seditions of the Moors and Germans, the opposition of the Donatists and Catholics, and the antipathies of the Arians (whose disciple he was) and the Trinitarians, continually produced conspiracies which disturbed his reign; and more Vandal blood was shed by the executioner than in the field of battle. Thus circumstanced, he subscribed the treaty; the vigilance of the Romans was relaxed by his protestations of friendship; and Carthage was surprised by the Vandals, (A. D. 439) and reduced to servitude. The attempt to secrete any treasure was punished with death, and the lands of the province (now the Tunisian territory) were divided among the barbarians, whose monarch reserved the fertile district of Byzacium and its neighbourhood as his peculiar domain.

The possession of a territory, stretching above ninety days journey along the coast of the Mediterranean from Tangier to Tripoli, did not satisfy the ambition of Genferic; he cast his eyes towards the sea, and created a naval power which might render every maritime country accessible to his arms. His

conquest of Sicily (A. D. 454) and ravages in the Italian neighbourhood, alarmed the Romans, whose alliances and armaments were rendered ineffectual by the policy of Genferic and the irruption of his confederate the king of the Huns, which obliged the emperors to relinquish an African war to secure domestic safety.

Valentinian had forcibly violated the wife of Maximus, an illustrious senator; and the nobleman, having revenged the dishonour by the death of his sovereign, was placed on the vacant throne by the voice of the senate and people. His wife did not long survive her violation; and Maximus had completed his revenge in supplying her place with the person of the empress Eudoxia. The confession of her new husband confirmed her suspicions that Valentinian had been assassinated by his direction, and she meditated vengeance in her turn. To effect this, she invited Genferic to the attack of Rome; and when the Vandals had disembarked at the mouth of the Tyber, Maximus would have made a precipitate retreat; but no sooner did he appear in the streets, than his seditious subjects assaulted him with stones; a soldier gave him the first wound, the domestics of Eudoxia

doxia signalised themselves in her service, and his mangled body was thrown into the river. On the third day (June 15, 455) Genferic advanced towards the city, and Leo its bishop issued at the head of his clergy, to implore the barbarian's mercy on an unresisting multitude. A promise of this was, indeed, obtained ; but Rome was delivered to the licentiousness of the Vandals and Moors. The pillage lasted fourteen days and nights ; and all the public and private wealth of the Western Metropolis was conveyed to the vessels of Genferic. The statues of the gods and heroes of Paganism, the gilt roof of the Capitol, and the holy instruments of the Jewish temple, the golden table and golden candlesticks, which Titus had brought from Jerusalem 400 years before, with the splendid ornaments of the Christian churches, were now confounded in the sacrilegious plunder, and transported from Rome to Carthage by a host of barbarians, who derived their origin from the shores of the Baltic. Eudoxia herself was rudely stripped of her jewels, and forced, with her two daughters, to follow the haughty Genferic as a captive to the port of Carthage.

Ricimer

Ricimer (A. D. 456) had destroyed on the coast of Corsica a Vandal fleet, consisting of sixty gallies, and had returned to Rome with the title of the Deliverer of Italy. The emperor Avitus had been elected without the consent of Ricimer, who now forced him to quit the throne, and, during an interregnum of some months, held the government himself with the title of Patrician. At length Ricimer, according to the public wish, invested his friend Majorian with the imperial purple. A fleet of Vandals and Moors (A. D. 457) had entered the river Liris (now Garigliano); but the imperial troops surprised the invaders, who were encumbered with the spoil of Campania, and chased them to their ships with great slaughter, in which the brother-in-law of Genseric was included. The new emperor formed a design of attacking the Vandals in their African settlements; and by a general exertion of the Empire, 300 large gallies, and a proportionate number of transports, &c. were collected in the capacious harbour of Carthage in Spain. Majorian, desirous of exploring the state of the enemy with his own eyes, ventured, after disguising the colour of his hair, to visit Carthage, in the character of his own ambassador;

bassador ; and Genferic was afterwards mortified by the discovery that he had entertained and dismissed the emperor of the Romans. The Vandal king practised his customary arts of fraud and delay ; but Majorian was inflexible. Genferic distrusted the valour of his native subjects and the fidelity of the vanquished Africans ; and in hope of diverting the purpose of Majorian, he reduced Mauritania to a desert, by burning its villages and poisoning its springs. But he was saved from the impending attack by the treachery of some of Majorian's subjects, by whose secret intelligence he was enabled to surprise the unguarded fleet in the bay of Carthagenæ ; many of the ships were sunk, taken, or burnt, and the preparations of three years were destroyed in a single day. He, however, continued to solicit for peace ; and Majorian consented to a treaty. The misfortune produced a sedition in the army ; and Ricimer, joining in the deposition of the emperor, who died five days after, bestowed the purple on his instrument Libius Severus. The life and nominal reign of Severus ceased at the end of six years, during which (from 461 to 467) the Vandal fleets ravaged the coasts of every province of the Western Empire,

Empire, and subdued the island of Sardinia. This war was carried on by Genferic under pretence of obtaining a proportion of the imperial patrimony for the eldest daughter of his captive Eudoxia, who had become the wife of his son Hunneric.

A. D. 468, the forces of both empires were united against Genferic. The troops of Egypt and Libya subdued the cities of Tripoli; the Vandals were expelled Sardinia; and a fleet of 1113 ships, with 100,000 soldiers and mariners, sailed from Constantinople to Carthage, under the command of Basiliscus, the brother of Vorina, wife of Leo, emperor of the East. The Vandals were repeatedly beaten; and had these advantages been pursued, Carthage must have surrendered, and the government of Genferic would have been extinguished. But a truce of five days was granted; and during that interval he manned his largest ships with the bravest of the Moors and Vandals, who towed after them many large barks filled with combustibles. In the obscurity of the night, a favourable wind impelled them against the fleet of the unsuspecting Romans. Their crowded situation assisted the progress of the flames; and whilst they laboured to extricate

extricate themselves from the fire-ships, the gallies of Genferic attacked them, and many of the Romans, who escaped the flames, were taken or destroyed by the Vandals.

After this, Genferic again became the tyrant of the sea, Tripoli and Sardinia returned to his obedience, Sicily was conquered, and he died (A. D. 477) in the fullness of years and military glory.

Genferic had, in his early youth, embraced the Arian doctrines; he was exasperated to find that those who had fled before him in the field still presumed to dispute his will in synods and churches; and his Catholic subjects were oppressed by intolerant laws and arbitrary punishments.

His successor Hunneric tormented them with equal fury. He, however, declared that his laws were only transcripts of those which the Trinitarian emperors had themselves made against such as dissented from their established religion; and the Catholics so little understood the rights of conscience, that they refused to grant the indulgence they claimed; even whilst they felt the lash of Arian persecution, they praised the severity of Hunneric, who burnt and banished the Manichæans; and they rejected the proposal

that the disciples of Arius and of Athanasius should enjoy a reciprocal toleration in the territories of the Romans and the Vandals.

During an interval of peace, Hunneric, at the intercession of the Eastern emperor, (A. D. 480) permitted the Catholics to seat Eugenius in the episcopal chair of Carthage ; but this indulgence was of short duration.

At the command of Hunneric, 466 Catholic bishops were assembled at Carthage, to confer with their Arian adversaries. After mutual reproaches, the disputants were separated ; a martyr and a confessor were selected from the Catholics, 28 escaped by flight and 88 by conformity, 46 were sent to Corsica to cut timber for the navy, and 302 were exiled to the deserts of Africa.

A. D. 483, a train of Catholic bishops and clergy, with 4096 of their followers, were torn from their habitations ; by night, they were confined, like a herd of cattle, amidst their own ordure ; during the day they pursued their march over the scorching sands ; and if they fainted with fatigue, they were goaded or dragged along till they expired in the hands of their tormentors ; and when these exiles reached the Moorish huts on the verge of Mount Atlas, if they escaped the dangers,

dangers, they were condemned to the distresses of a savage life.

The inhabitants of Tipasa had long braved the fury of the Donatists and the Arians; and on the appointment of an Arian bishop, (A. D. 484) those who could procure ships passed into Spain. The unhappy remnant refusing the communion of their king, still held their prohibited assemblies : A military officer was dispatched from Carthage by Hunneric; he collected the Catholics in the market place of Tipasa, and they were deprived of their right hands and their tongues.

The reign of Hunneric was stained with the most rigorous persecutions. Respectable citizens, noble matrons, and consecrated virgins were stripped, suspended with weights at their feet, and in this posture torn with scourges or burnt with red-hot irons. The amputation of the ears, nose, tongue, and right hand were frequent; nor did the sufferings of the Catholics end with the life of Hunneric, who died (A. D. 484) covered with sores and vermin.

Gundamond (the son of Genso, eldest son of Genferic) succeeded his uncle, whose vices he copied during almost the whole of his twelve years reign; towards the end, however,

however, he relaxed his severities, recalled the Catholic exiles, and restored many to their churches.

He was succeeded (A. D. 496) by his brother Thrasimund, who exceeded all the Vandal princes in beauty, prudence, and magnanimity. Yet these accomplishments were degraded by his intolerance. He ejected the Catholic bishops; but instead of tortures, he employed the seductions of wealth and dignities to convert them to his faith. He exacted an oath from his successor, never to tolerate the Athanasians, and died after a reign of twenty-seven years.

Hilderic, the gentle son of the savage Hunneric, on ascending the throne (A. D. 523) preferred the duties of humanity to the obligations of an impious oath; he repealed the laws of persecution, recalled the banished, and during a reign of seven years, laboured for the restoration of peace and freedom: But his Vandal subjects possessed another spirit; and he was deprived of his crown and liberty (A. D. 530) by his cousin Gelimer, a zealous Arian.

Gelimer renewed the acts of persecution; but his tyranny was of short duration. The Eastern emperor Justinian, a friend of the Catholics,

Catholics, insisted on the restoration of Hilderic, who, with his children and his brother, were now put to death by Gelimer.

Belisarius, the imperial general, appeared (A.D. 533) with a Greek army, and defeated the Vandals under the command of Gundamer and Gelamund, brothers of Gelimer, who lost their lives in the field. Gelimer himself, after attempting to revenge their deaths, received a second defeat, and secured his personal safety by a precipitate flight. Carthage, deserted by its Vandal king, at the end of 95 years from its conquest by Genseric, submissively opened its gates to the victorious Belisarius, and again acknowledged the imperial sovereignty. Whilst the clement victor facilitated the progress of his arms by his generosity and moderation, the Vandal distributed his treasures amongst the petty rulers of the Mauritanians, and recalled his brother Tzason from Sardinia. Thus reinforced, he again ventured in the field. Another defeat, with the death of Tzason, and the capture of the Vandal and Moorish camp, with all the severities of a military storm, decisively terminated the Vandal kingdom; and Gelimer, after a hasty flight with a few followers to the strong town of Medemus,

on the top of the Pappuan Mountain, was reduced by a three month's blockade to the alternative of perishing by famine, or of surrendering to Pharas, the lieutenant of Belisarius. Gelimer chose the latter; and was sent, bound with golden chains, and accompanied with all his ill-got treasures, to the court of Constantinople. Justinian heard his entreaties, and with his life gave him the fortune of a private gentleman; but unable to brook captivity, he sunk under the weight of his disgrace (A. D. 534) before the expiration of a year.

On the success of Belisarius, the oppressed Catholics recovered the ecclesiastical dominion; the laws of persecution were enforced against the Arians; and the disciples of Athanasius executed all the severities of a rigorous retaliation.

The triumph of the Catholics and the government of the Greeks were, however, repeatedly disturbed by the seditions of the imperial troops, by the insurrections of the persecuted Vandals, and by the attacks of the unconquered Pagans of Mauritania; till a new inundation of aliens from the East overwhelmed the distracted provinces, and at once extinguished the government and the religion of the Christians in Africa.

The Arabs, whose country the armies of Greece and Rome had never dared to penetrate, began in the 6th century to extend their dominions into the Asiatic and African provinces of the Greek Empire ; and a legislator had been born in Arabia, whose arms and religion were to crush Christianity and govern Judaism in the native provinces of Abraham, of Moses, and of Jesus.

Mahomet was born at Mecca, in Arabia, about the year 579. His parents, Abdallah and Emima, were in low circumstances ; and the father dying, left young Mahomet to the care of his grandfather Moutaleb, who, at his death soon after, committed him to the protection of his uncle Abutaleb. At fourteen years of age, he carried arms in a war on the borders of Syria ; and at twenty-five entered into the service of a widow, named Cadigha, who resided at Mecca, and carried on an extensive trade into Syria. Mahomet so gained the esteem of his mistress in the capacity of her factor, that she soon made him her husband ; and he continued in the mercantile occupation till he had attained his fortieth year. At this age he possessed a lively eloquence, an air of authority and insinuation, an intrepid resolution, a habit of
temperance,

temperance, and a spirit of liberality. Having informed himself of the ignorance, credulity, and enthusiastic disposition of his countrymen, he found it possible for him to obtain a prophetic character. He determined to root out the religion of his country, which consisted in a mixed worship of the true God and of the stars; to destroy Judaism, which, under the conquest of Palestine and the triumph of Christianity, sought an asylum in Arabia; and to check the progress of Christianity itself, which had been corrupted and disgraced by the fictions and animosities of its sectaries. He professed to bring back men to the simple worship of the One True God adored by Abraham, from whom he claimed his descent. He began by making himself believed in his own house, which was perhaps his greatest difficulty. His wife and Ali, the husband of his daughter Fatima, were his first disciples. These he took to a cave in Mount Hara, near Mecca, which he had previously frequented, and there persuaded them, that he had on that spot been visited by the angel Gabriel, who had greeted him as the apostle of God. The progress of his imposture was at first but slow; and four years were spent in the conversion

conversion of nine persons before he ventured to publish his divine commission to the people of Mecca. His fellow-citizens were incensed against him; and his disciples were only sixteen, four of whom were women, when he sent them from Mecca, where they were persecuted, to preach his doctrines in *Æthiopia*. He himself, however, remained at home, and increased his proselytes to an hundred, who followed the former. His enemies, however, exceeded the number of his friends at Mecca; and after having been persecuted, and even condemned to die, he fled (A. D. 622) to Medina, where his disciples had become considerably numerous. This flight (to which the name of *Hegira* has been given) became the origin of his glory, and the æra of the *Mahometans*. At Medina, he gained the inhabitants to his service; and began his empire by defeating, with only 113 men, the people of Mecca who came to attack him with a thousand. His followers considered this victory as the miraculous work of God, who fought for them, as they did for his prophet; and they flattered themselves with a hope of conquering the world. Mahomet took Mecca, and saw his persecutors at his feet. Thus encouraged,

he wrote to the king of Persia, the Greek emperor, the governor of Egypt, and the kings of Abyssinia and of a region on the Persian Gulph, with proposals for their embracing his religion; and the two latter actually accepted the offer. At the end of nine years, by preaching and the sword, he became sovereign of all Arabia, and found himself at the head of 40,000 men intoxicated with enthusiasm. He now thought himself strong enough to proceed to the attack of the Greek and Persian dominions; and accordingly took some cities of Syria belonging to the former: But death prevented his personal conquests from extending further. He died, at Medina, in the 11th year of the Hegira, and in the 632d of the Christian æra, aged about 63.

The Koran, or Alcoran, (the Bible of the Mahometans) derives its name from the Arabic *Al Koran*, The Reading, or what ought to be read. The moslem, mussulmen, or true believers, maintain, that the Koran is of divine original; that the first transcript, has been from all eternity by God's throne, written on a table of vast bigness; that a copy from this table, in one paper volume, was sent down in the month of Ramadan to
the

the lowest heaven, and from thence delivered out to Mahomet by parts, some at Mecca, and some at Medina; though the whole was shewn to him once a year. While Mahomet lived it was kept in loose sheets; but Abubeker, the succeeding caliph (both king and high-priest) collected them into one volume. It is divided into chapters and verses. The aim of Mahomet was to unite the Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the worship of one God, and bring them into subjection to himself as God's prophet and ambassador. These are, therefore, the chief points inculcated in the Koran. The rest is taken up by laws and directions, and admonitions to virtue and resignation to the divine will. Its style is beautiful and fluent, adorned with bold figures and flowery expressions, and where the majesty and attributes of God are described it is truly sublime. It is true, that contradictions, anachronisms, false philosophy, and ridiculous metaphysics, are plentifully scattered throughout; and this is the touchstone which proves this book, or any other, not to be the work of the Divinity; for God is neither absurd nor ignorant; but men may ascribe their erroneous writings or compilations to the Deity; the imans or

priests may labour to palliate these errors by sophistry, or demand an implicit faith ; and an ignorant people may adore what they scarcely have any conception of.

The chief article of the Mahometan creed is, that *There is no God but one God*. The Koran incessantly repeats *There is no other God but He. Your God is the only God. I am God, and there is no other God but I*. For this reason, they reckon all those to be infidels and idolaters, who own above one person in the Divinity. One of the first lessons they teach their children is, that *God is neither male nor female, and consequently can have no children*.

The second article is, that *Mahomet was sent from God* ; the last and greatest prophet that God would ever send ; that as the Jewish religion ceased at the coming of Jesus, so the Christian religion was to cease at the coming of Mahomet. They own Moses and Jesus to have been great prophets, but that Mahomet is *the Prophet* by way of excellence, commissioned to purge the Old and New Testament of the corruptions introduced by Jews and Christians, and to restore the law of God to its original purity.

They call their religion *Islam*, signifying *submission to the will of God, or the state of salvation*.

vation. They divide it into *faith* and *practice*. *Faith* comprehends six branches, viz. Belief in God, in his angels, in his scriptures, in his prophets, in the resurrection and judgment, and in God's absolute predestination both of good and evil.

Practice has four points, viz. prayer and its preparatory washings, &c. alms-giving, fasting, and the pilgrimage to Mecca.

They believe angels to have pure and subtil bodies of fire; that they are employed in writing down the actions of men, carrying the throne of God, and other services; that the four most distinguished angels are Gabriel, Michael, Azrael (or Death) who separates souls from bodies, and Israfil who will sound the trumpet at the resurrection; that two angels, who are changed every day, attend on every man and write down his actions. They call their Devil *Eblis*, that is *Despair*, and say he fell for refusing to pay homage to Adam at the command of God. They admit of inferior angels good and bad.

As to scripture, they believe that God in divers ages gave written revelations. They acknowledge the five books of Moses, the Psalms, and Gospel to be divine. Mahomet appeals in the Koran to certain prophecies in
these

these books, concerning himself, which he pretends the Jews and Christians have suppressed.

They maintain, that, after death, the bodies of those who believe in the unity of God and the mission of Mahomet; are refreshed with the air of Paradise; otherwise they are tormented: That the souls of the former are conveyed to heaven, where places are assigned them according to merit: That those of the wicked are tormented till they join their bodies at the resurrection: That the approach of the resurrection will be known by these signs, viz. the sun's rising in the west; a monstrous beast rising out of the earth in the temple of Mecca; a war with the Greeks and the taking of Constantinople; the coming of Anti-Christ; the descent of Jesus; war with the Jews; the eruption of Gog and Magog; a smoke filling all the earth; an eclipse of the moon; the Arabs again worshipping idols; the discovery of a vast heap of gold and silver by the going back of the river Euphrates; the demolition of the temple of Mecca by Æthiopians; the speaking of beasts and inanimate things; the breaking out of fire; the appearance of one who shall drive men before him with a staff;

the

the coming of the Mhodi, or *director*, a person of the family of Mahomet, to govern the Arabians, and fill the world with righteousness; and a wind that shall sweep away the souls of those that have but a grain of faith. But the immediate sign of the resurrection will be the sound of the trumpet three times. The Koran says in one place, the day of judgment will last a thousand, in another fifty thousand, years. The resurrection will extend to angels, genii, men, and brutes, who will all receive retribution. To each will be delivered a book wherein is recorded all his actions, which are to be weighed in a balance. After examination, a part of the good works of him who has done an injury is to be taken off, and added to those of the injured. Brutes will be changed into dust; believing genii will have a place near Paradise; the unbelieving will suffer eternally in hell with human infidels. The good and bad are conducted to a bridge, called Alfirat, laid over the middle of hell, narrower and sharper than the edge of a sword, yet beset with briars; over which Mahomet and his true moslems will pass like a wind; whilst the wicked, being left in darkness, and entangled amongst the thorns, will miss their footing,

footing, and tumble headlong into hell ; which has seven different apartments, adapted to different degrees of sinners, who will suffer the excess both of heat and cold. Infidels will suffer eternally ; but the moslems, after expiating their crimes, will be delivered. Hell and Paradise are separated by a wall so narrow, that the blessed and damned may converse together. The righteous, after passing the bridge, are refreshed by drinking at the pond of the prophet, and then enter Paradise, situated in the seventh heaven, next the throne of God ; where they are clothed in silk, refreshed with delicious fruits, water, wine, milk, and honey, and delighted with music and the company of most beautiful girls. Both sexes are punished or rewarded according to their deeds, and possess perpetual youth.

Their doctrine of predestination is, that every minute particular which happens, even faith and infidelity, and consequently eternal happiness and misery, have been unavoidably fixed by God from all eternity.

As to the four points of religious practice, prayer is to be used five times a day, at stated hours, turning the face towards the temple of Mecca, to which they are directed by a
niche

niche in their mosques : The soul of prayer (say they) consists in sincerity of heart, and must not be made in gay apparel or in the presence of women ; and without cleanliness God will not hear it. Almsgiving is frequently inculcated in the Koran. Fasting is called the gate of religion, and is expressly required in the month of Ramadan. The pilgrimage to Mecca is so necessary, that, according to a tradition, he who dies without performing it may as well die a Jew or a Christian.

Besides this, the Mahometans are to abstain from wine, gaming, usury, divining by arrows, eating blood and swine's flesh, and whatever dies of itself or is killed by accident. They are allowed no more than four women whether wives or concubines ; but Mahomet himself was permitted to take as many as he pleased ; and his example has been more followed than his doctrine by the princes of his profession. Divorces are allowed ; fornication and adultery are condemned. The day of the week appointed for public worship is Friday. Circumcision is not looked on as essential to salvation, and is generally omitted till the age of seven or eight years.

The moslems dare not touch the Koran without being first washed; in token of respect, they never hold it below the girdle; they swear by it, adorn it with jewels, carry it to war, write sentences from it on their banners, and will not allow any one of a different religion to possess it.

Besides the Koran, they have a book called the Sonna, which contains their traditions; and this has divided them into two sects, one allowing and the other denying the utility of this book. The Koranists (like the Jewish Textuaries and Christian Biblists) are the enemies of philosophers, metaphysicians, and scholastic writers; with them the Koran is every thing. The Persians are Koranists; the Turks and Moors are Sonnites.

The Mahometans have *scholastic* theology built on reason, as well as the *positive* one contained in the Koran. They have their casuists and a kind of canon law; also beneficiaries, chaplains, canons, and almoners. A chapter of the Koran is read daily in their mosques. The *batib* of the mosque is what we call the parson of the parish; the *cheycs* are the preachers, who take a text from the Koran.

It has been reckoned, that (dividing the known world into 30 parts) 18 of them are
Pagan,

Pagan, 6 Mahometan, 5 Christian, and 1 Jewish.

Mahomet had named Ali as his successor, but Abubeker, the father of the prophet's third wife (for he had twelve wives and eleven concubines) got himself elected and supported in the caliphate by the army. He extended the Arab conquests into Syria, and died (A. D. 634) on the day Damascus was taken.

Omar, his successor, took Jerusalem, drove the Greeks from Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and Tripoli, subdued Persia, and (A. D. 645) died by the dagger of an assassin.

Othman, the 4th caliph, after subduing Cyprus, Rhodes, part of Armenia, and all Barbary from Tripoli to Tangier, was killed (A. D. 655) by his rebellious subjects.

From this time the Christians in Africa became subject to the Arabs or Saracens; and Mahometanism was there established on the ruins of their religion. Nor were the conquests of Mahomet's disciples thus ended: From the death of Othman to the year 910, notwithstanding the great effusion of blood in their civil contests for the succession to the caliphate, and the irruptions of the Turks, who began during this time to spread

themselves beyond their native soil on the borders of Mount Caucasus and the Caspian Sea ; notwithstanding these distractions, the caliphs carried their invasions into every part of Christendom situated on the Mediterranean. They ravaged Asia Minor, took the isles of Crete, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica ; repeatedly attacked Constantinople ; conquered and erected a Mahometan kingdom in Spain ; crossed the Pyrenees, plundered the neighbouring parts of France, and took the city of Narbonne ; ransacked the southern provinces of Italy, took and destroyed Capua, Centumcelle, and Ostium the port of Rome, and even pillaged the suburbs of Rome itself. At the commencement of the 9th century, however, the empire of the caliphs began to decline ; and, after being torn in pieces by its own dissensions, fell successively into the hands of the Turks, and Tartars, till it became divided, as it now is, between the Ottoman Turks, the Sophi's of Persia, and the states of Barbary ; and the Mahometan caliph, like the Christian pope, is now reduced from the summit of civil and ecclesiastical despotism to (what he ought to be) the mufti or archbishop of his peculiar province, and the petty prince of his own patrimony.

At the end of the 8th century, Ibrahim Aglab, governor of the western provinces of Africa, revolted against the caliph Harun Al Raschid, and erected an independent kingdom, which contained the territories now called Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco. Sicily was afterwards added to these dominions, which continued under the Aglabites till the year 910.

About the time of Aglab's revolt, the descendants of Edris, of the race of Ali, threw off the caliph's government, and founded the kingdom of Fez. They kept court at Fez, Tangier, and Ceuta.

In the year 910, Obeidallah (founding his pretensions on a traditional prophecy, *that at the end of 300 years (from the Hegira) the sun would rise in the west*) set up for a second prophet, and taking the surname *Al Mohedi*, that is, *Director of the faithful*, founded a new caliphate in Africa Propria. He made Kairwan (a city which the Arabs had built under the caliph Omar I. about 30 miles south of Carthage) his capital; and extended his dominions by conquering the Aglabites and Edrissites, and for a short time subjected Egypt. He had laid the foundation of a new city near Kairwan, which he intended to make

make his capital, and gave it the name of Mohedia; but died before its completion.

In 933, he was succeeded by his son Al Kayem, who finished the new city. The end of this caliph's reign was embittered by the rebellion of his minister Yezid, who besieged him seven months in his new capital, where he ended his life during the blockade, in the 12th year of his reign.

He was succeeded, in 945, by his son Ismael, surnamed *Al Mansur*, or *the Conqueror*. This caliph suppressed the rebels, and taking Yezid prisoner, put him into a dungeon, intending to inflict a most exemplary punishment upon him. The captive dying in his prison, Al Mansur had his body flayed, and exposed the stuffed skin to public view.

His son Al Moezz acceded to the caliphate in 952, carried on a vigorous war against the Mahometans in Spain, took Sardinia, and conquering Egypt, removed the seat of government to Cairo.

Several wandering tribes of Saracens had removed from Arabia about the time of the extinction of the Vandal monarchy, and had dispersed themselves quite across the interior parts of Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic. They dwelt in tents, and roving
from

from place to place along the borders of Mount Atlas and the Desert of Zara, they subsisted by the pasturage of cattle and the plunder of villages.

On the removal of the government from Mohedia to Cairo, several tribes of these Saracens descended from Mount Atlas to the shores of the Mediterranean, and possessed themselves of the most fertile lands, which they secured by fortresses, and reduced the natives to abject slavery.

After this descent of the Saracens to the coasts, (now Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers) the Zinhaghi, Muzamadini, Zeneti, Gomeri, and Hoares, who had been oppressed by them in the inland provinces, recovered their liberty; and branches of the Muzamadini Gomeri, and Zeneti settled in the Western Mauritania. Some of the Zeneti, called Mequinezes, erected a kingdom, and subdued the Fezians. The Mequinezes were in their turn vanquished by another branch of the Zeneti, the Magoroans of Numidia; and these again by Abu Texifien.

About the year 1076, Texifien, a chief marabout, or priest, of the Zinhagian tribe, dispersed his inferior marabouts throughout the provinces which had been subjected by
Arabian

Arabian or Saracen cheyks, to preach against their tyranny, and excite the oppressed natives to shake off their yoke. The Africans had by this time received the religion of their conquerors, and Texisien took upon himself the character of a prophet militant, with the title of *Emir Mumenin*, or *Emperor of the faithful*. Numbers of malecontents flocked to his standard in Numidia ; and having officered his army with priests (from which this family of princes got the name Al Marabouts) he marched against the Arabs in Mauritania Tingitana, and reduced great part of that province.

Texisien was succeeded by his son Yusef, who laid the foundation of the city of Morocco, conquered all the coast of Africa from Egypt to Guinea, and (in 1099) sailed into Spain to assist the Mahometans against the Christians, whom he repulsed, and made considerable conquests there for himself.

In 1110, he was succeeded by his son Ali, who lost considerable ground in Spain, and was himself there defeated and slain by Alphonso, king of Arragon.

In 1115, Al Brahem succeeded his father Ali. He hated martial exploits, and gave himself up to luxury. In the 24th year of his

his reign, Abdallah, a famous priest of the of the Muzamadini tribe, took upon himself the same character and title of a reformer as Texisien had done before him, and with equal success. Al Brahem, after repeated defeats, was blocked up in the sea-port of Oran by Abdalmumen, the usurper's general ; and attempted to escape by night with a favourite wife behind him on horseback ; but seeing no possibility of getting thro' the enemy's troops, he clapped spurs to his horse, and hurried him headlong over the rock, where all three were dashed to pieces. The general caused Al Brahem's head to be cut off, and carried it to the city of Morocco. On his arrival there he found Abdallah dead ; and was himself elected to fill the vacant throne of his master.

Abdalmumen was the son of a potter, and had entered into the service of Abdallah, who entertained such an opinion of his talents, that he raised him to be one of his principal officers and ministers ; and his abilities were not over-rated. On his being elected to the throne, he endeavoured to efface his mean extract by giving out that he was a descendant of Mahomet. Al Braham left a son, named Isaac, under the care

of guardians who caused him (in 1149) to be proclaimed king; and the citizens of Morocco took arms to support him against the pretensions of Abdalmumen. The city of Morocco was taken by storm, and Abdalmumen strangled young Isaac with his own hand, extirpated all remaining issue of the Marabout kings, massacred all the citizens and soldiers who had opposed him, and levelled the principal buildings of the city with the ground; so that the first year of his reign was a continual scene of blood.

While this was transacted, the Arabs, who had sheltered themselves from the fury of Texifen and his successors, by hiding themselves in the recesses of Mount Atlas, observed the unsettled state of affairs, and seized on the districts of Tunis and Tremesen; and the several provinces of Barca, Tripoli, Kairwan, and Bugia set up their respective sovereigns.

In the mean time, the Mahometans in Spain were distressed by the Christians under Alphonso, and applied to Abdalmumen for aid. The state of African affairs permitted him to send but 30,000 men. These, however, retrieved the condition of his allies; and in the course of a few years, by promises

trifles and compulsion, he recovered all his African territories, except that of the Arabs in Tunis. He likewise dispossessed the Christians of the city of Mohedia, which they had taken and held from the time of Al Braham.

His warlike son Yusef succeeded him in 1156, and after establishing two new sovereignties, his vassals, in Tunis and Bugia, he embarked for Spain, to attack the Christians at the head of the largest army that had ever crossed the Streight of Gibraltar, consisting of 60,000 horse and 100,000 foot. His success, however, did not answer expectation; and at the end of eight years, he returned to suppress a rebellion in Tremesen; after which he led to Spain a more numerous army than the first. A crusade was formed against him at the instance of the pope; but before this Christian force could attack him, he was slain by an arrow whilst he was besieging Santarino in Portugal; and his numerous army returned to Africa.

Yusef was succeeded by his son Yacob, who found his African dominions in great confusion. However, having restored peace at home by reducing the tributary princes of Fez, Tunis, and Tremesen to their

former obedience, and distributing the unruly Arabs throughout the provinces in small manageable parties, he proclaimed a general gazie, or religious war, against the Christians of Spain. The mussulmen, who considered death in such a cause as a sure road to heaven, flew to his standard, and he entered Spain with an army of 300,000 foot and 100,000 horse, and (in 1195) gave the Christians a signal defeat, which obliged Alphonso to sue for peace. During his three years absence on this expedition, the governor of the city of Morocco had assumed the authority of a king; and was not subdued till Yacob had besieged him a whole year in his capital; when the usurper being driven into the citadel, and on the point of starving, sent out a priest to sue for pardon. Yacob seemingly granted it; but on the surrender, he ordered every prisoner to be beheaded. After having thus conquered all his enemies domestic and foreign, and obtained the surname *Al Mansur*, or *the Conqueror*, (in 1206) he suddenly disappeared, and was never seen by his subjects after. Some report, that he was so struck with remorse at the perfidious butchery he had committed on the above prisoners, that he resolved
never

never more to wear the crown; and accordingly wandered about in a private capacity, and died a poor baker at Alexandria.

His subjects imagining him gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca, after waiting a whole year, set his son Mahomet on the throne, under the guardianship of an uncle. During this prince's minority, Alphonso broke the truce, and retook several places in Spain. When Mahomet was grown up, he led the largest army into Spain that had ever been transported thither; but the Christians, having proclaimed a crusade, were prepared for his reception; and in 1210, he was totally defeated, and died soon after.

Mahomet left several sons, whose bloody contests gave the tributary princes of Fez, Tunis, and Tremesen, an opportunity to throw off their yoke; and they have ever since been independent of the Moors.

Abdallah, king of Fez, soon after made himself master of Morocco, and entailed the two crowns on his descendants, whose family name was the Benizeveni, or Benimerini. These held the united kingdoms till 1420, when they were deposed by the family of Oatazes.

During

During the ill-conducted government of the Oatazes, which continued to the beginning of the 16th century, Manuel, king of Portugal, carried on a very successful war against the Moors in their own country, and took their principal sea-ports of Ceuta, Tangier, Arzila, Alcaffarzeguer, Azamor, Mazagan, Saaffi, Cape Aguen, and the castle of Erguen, in all which he kept strong garrisons. Besides his Christian troops, he had 16,000 horse and near 200,000 foot, which were composed of the free wandering Arabs and native Berberes of Africa, both of which had a rooted hatred to the Moorish monarchs, who always strove to enslave them.

Whilst the Moors were thus harrassed by the Portuguese, Hassan, an old priest, who pretended to be of the race of the xeriffs (descendants of Mahomet) having obtained the reputation of great wisdom and sanctity, gave out that he and his three sons had been favoured with divine visions and revelations.

Hamet and Mahomet, the two youngest, ingratiated themselves with the king Mahomet Oataz, who kept his court at Fez, and obtained the government of several provinces. Pretending great zeal for the Mahometan religion, they raised an army to drive

drive the Portuguese Christians from the Moorish empire; and having gained the affections of the people by some success in their enterprises, (in 1516) Mahomet took upon himself the title of Prince of Hea; and Hamet, having poisoned the viceroy of Morocco, seized upon the territory committed to his charge. The king was complimented with presents and promises of future tribute by the usurpers; and contrary to advice confirmed to them the possessions they had made themselves masters of. The xeriffs, however, sent him no more tokens of fealty than suited their inclinations; and the king, seeing his error too late, soon died of a broken heart.

He was succeeded by his son Hamet Oataz, who proclaimed his weakness by sending the xeriff Hamet word that a small tribute would content him; and the usurper replied, that being descended from the Great Prophet, it was unlawful for him to pay tribute to any prince whatever. The mask being thus thrown off, Oataz made several unsuccessful attempts to recover his dominions. In the mean time the two xeriffs had disagreed, and Hamet fell into the hands of his brother, who, after some reproaches and expostulations,

expostulations, gave him his life and the province of Taffilet. Mahomet then invaded the territories of the Fezian monarch, who marching to oppose him was taken prisoner; but purchased his freedom by the resignation of Mequinez. Mahomet having taken possession of that place, immediately laid siege to the cities of Old and New Fez; and after two years blockade, the Old Town was treacherously delivered up; on which Oataz, who resided in New Fez, resigned that city and his crown, on condition of receiving a pension from the xeriff Mahomet, who sent him to live in obscurity at the city of Morocco, and completed his triumph by publicly marrying the captive daughter.

The xeriff Hamet having sent succours to the besieged Fezians, Mahomet banished him to the desert of Zara; and having now expelled the Portuguese from Aguer, Saaffi, Arzila, Azamor, and Alcaffarzeguer, broken off the Berberes and Arabs from their alliance, and possessed himself of the empire, he commenced a war on the territories of his Algerine neighbours. The city of Tremesen was surprised by his sons Harran, Abdalcader, and Abdallah; but here ended Mahomet's successful career. His eldest son Hartan, on
a hasty

a hasty march, to surprize the town of Oran, fell sick, and died on his return to Fez. Abdalrahman, another son, ordered with a reinforcement to Tremesen, being on ill terms with his half-brother Abdallah, suffered him to be cut to pieces in battle by the Algerines. This perfidy was revenged in the poisoning of Abdalrahman by order of his father Mahomet, whose temper was so soured by these cross events, that he caused the captive king of Fez and his son to strangle.

Buhanzon, formerly minister of the murdered monarch, who had hitherto sheltered himself with the Portuguese, now joined the Algerines, expelled Mahomet from Fez and Mequinez, and took the crown of these provinces; but his elevation was of little continuance, he being soon after slain in battle.

Hamet had in the mean time issued from the place of his exile, and taken the city of Taffilet. There Mahomet once more made him prisoner; and confined him and his family in a religious college at Morocco.

The Algerines despairing of subduing the Moorish xeriff by arms, hired a Turk to assassinate him. This villain, pretending to have deserted the Algerines through ill usage, applied to Mahomet, and obtained a commis-

sion in his guards. Soon after, his soldiers shewing a disposition to mutiny on account of arrears, he proposed the assassination of the king, a seizure of the royal treasure, and an escape to the Algerines. Accordingly, as Mahomet sat one evening before his tent, the conspirators advanced, as if to pay their respects; but some too hastily drawing their scymetars, Mahomet suspected their ill designs, and attempted to fly. Unfortunately he fell on his face, and the traitors instantly dispatched him, seized his treasures, wives, &c. and took a circuitous road for Tremesen; but they were soon overtaken and cut to pieces.

On the xeriff's assassination, Budchar, governor of Morocco, caused Hamet, his sons, and grandsons, to be murdered. This cruelty was soon revenged. Abdallah, the son of Mahomet, ascended the throne (in 1557) on the death of his father; and being sick, his sister Meriam, mother of two of the murdered grandsons of Hamet, communicated to Abdallah her suspicions that Budchar intended to oppose the succession of his son. To prove this, she sent for Budchar, who, on, entering the royal apartment, saw the body of the king covered with a cloth; and was informed.

informed by Meriam that he was dead. Budchar unreservedly told her, Abdallah's son was too young to take the government; and that he was determined to support the succession of Abdalcader, the deceased's brother. On hearing this, Abdallah threw off his covering, and shook his cane at Budchar, who flew from his presence, disguised himself in women's clothes, and left the city; but being soon brought back, Abdallah ordered his head to be cut off on the spot.

Abdallah, having secured his throne from any attempt of his brother or foreign enemies, gave himself up to drinking and debauchery. He was daily intoxicated, forcibly debauched his own sister Meriam, beheaded his nephew merely because he was a favourite of the people, exercised the greatest tyranny on his ministers and subjects, and died universally hated in 1574.

He was succeeded by Muley Mahomet, surnamed *the Negro*, because born of a negro woman. On his accession, this prince beheaded two of his brothers and imprisoned a third; being dethroned by his uncle Muley Moluch, he fled to Sebastian, king of Portugal; and returned to Morocco with that monarch, in 1578, in hope of recovering his throne; but they were both slain at the

battle of Alcaffar. Muley Moluch, being sick, for some time commanded at this battle on horseback. But his strength failing, he expired as soon as he was seated in his litter.

Muley Hamet was chosen to succeed his brother immediately after the battle. This prince conquered the kingdoms of Gago and Tombut ; and died in 1603, universally respected for his learning and pacific temper.

Within six weeks after his death, four of his sons were proclaimed kings ; and the empire was a scene of blood till the sword of Sidan, the youngest, won him the sole possession of the government. The Arabs (whom Mahomet the first xeriff had made tributary) continually disturbed his reign, and once drove him from the city of Morocco. The piratical inhabitants of Sallee often plundered the inland provinces, till he ruined them by the assistance of some shipping he obtained from Charles I. of England, to whom he presented 300 Christian slaves in return.

His son Abdalmelech succeeded him in 1630, and ordered so strict a mourning for his father, that the Moors had their very shirts dyed blue, that being their colour for it. Christian renegadoes were great objects
of

of his favour ; and he threw those who would not turn Mahometans to his lions, and sometimes cut them to pieces with his own scymetar. The French ambassador at Constantinople sent a sharp remonstrance to Abdalmelech on this subject ; on which the tyrant swore he would kill the first ambassador of that nation who should set foot in his dominions. Mons. Sanson came thither soon after in that capacity, but being luckily informed of the king's threat by a French renegado, he took the character of a private merchant only, and thus escaped the hands of the executioner, who waited in the next room to dispatch him. The drunkenness, debauchery, and cruelty of Abdalmelech rendered him universally odious ; and in the fourth year of his reign, a Christian slave, whom he intended to have castrated, finding him asleep in his tent, shot him dead with a pistol.

Muley Elwaly, his brother, whose eyes the tyrant had just ordered to be put out, was unexpectedly taken from his prison to ascend the throne. The temper of this prince was the reverse of Abdalmelech's. He released the state prisoners, increased the soldiers pay, exchanged his Christian
captive

captives as prisoners of war, and died in the 12th year of his reign universally lamented.

He was succeeded by Muley Hamet Cheyk, who scarcely ever left his seraglio, but let a few rapacious ministers govern the realm, which gave the Arabs an opportunity of taking the city of Morocco, and putting him to death.

Crumel Hack, an Arab, succeeded for a few years; and after him, Muley Xeriff, who was taken prisoner by Omar, prince of Illech, and during his captivity had two sons by a negro woman. Muley Archy, the eldest, succeeded to the throne of Taffilet; and on his decease, two of his nephews divided the empire of Morocco between them.

Muley Ismael, the youngest son of Muley Xeriff by the negro, dethroned these princes, and began his reign over the whole empire in 1672. Notwithstanding his great cruelty and avarice, he was a strict observer of religious rites; he never drank wine or strong liquor, kept the Ramadan four whole months with excessive abstinence, scrupulously observed the appointed washings and prayers, and never did any business of consequence, without first praying for the direction of God and the Prophet.

In the administration of justice, he was generally easy of access, but often wild and extravagant. For instance : A poor farmer complained that some of the king's negroes had stolen two oxen from him; and the negro guard being drawn up, he shot every one the farmer accused. Then asking him what recompence he could make for the loss of so many stout negroes, and the poor man not knowing what to answer, he shot him thro' the head also.

He chose Mequinez for his residence, and adorned it with many fine buildings, which he oft pulled down and rebuilt in situations more agreeable to his fancy. *This, said he, is to keep my people employed; for if I have a bag of rats, I must keep them in motion, or they will eat their way out.* And indeed he treated his subjects just like so many vermin. He would shoot or behead them, just to shew his dexterity; and tho' continually levying new taxes, he would neither pay or provide for his household or soldiery. When his army applied for an allowance on an expedition against the city of Morocco, which his son Mahomet had seized. *Do you see, said he, any of my mules or camels ask for a maintenance? Go, then, where I bid you; take victuals where*

you

you can find them; and don't trouble me about it. When complaint of fraud or theft was made, he generally ordered restitution, not to the plaintiff, but to himself; and if the accused was in good circumstances, he sentenced him to a heavy punishment, that he might buy it off at a good price. The bare suspicion of being rich cost the lives of numbers of his subjects, which was always followed by confiscation of their property. He kept a seraglio at Taffilet for the reception of his cast-off wives and concubines, when he chose to refurnish his new one at Mequinez. He had no less than 3000 of the former and 5000 of the latter, who were often put to death for the least offence or displeasing action. And notwithstanding he was hated by all his subjects, he reigned for the long space of 55 years without any considerable molestation, except from his own son Mahomet.

This prince was born of a beautiful Georgian slave, a Christian; and was the only child that had a royal education. Ajaka, a negro wife, who had great influence over the king, could not brook this preference of Mahomet to her son Sidan; and she resolved on the destruction of the favourite and his mother.

mother. The last she soon removed by an accusation of infidelity : but Ismael discovering the falsehood, favoured Mahomet more than ever, and to place him out of Ajaka's reach, sent him to govern the old seraglio at Taffilet. Here Mahomet had a contest with his brother Maimon, governor of the city, about precedence, and many of their followers were killed ; whereupon both were ordered to be brought to Mequinez in chains.

Their father having heard their pleas, disgraced Maimon, who said nothing vexed him so much as to be overcome by the Christian Mahomet. Upon this Ismael bid them try which was the best man with scymetars. These, however, at the request of the attendants, were exchanged for cudgels ; with which the brothers soon covered each other with blood. The father then bid them desist ; but Mahomet continuing his blows, he took Maimon's cudgel and struck him. Mahomet then seized Maimon and threw him on the ground ; on which Ismael was about to pierce him with his spear ; but checking himself, he upbraided him with his Christian blood, and bid him go eat swine's flesh. Ismael, however, soon lost his resentment ; and Mahomet lived very hap-

pily for five years after with his beloved brother Muley Xeriff, at Montigara. At the end of that time, he was sent against the governor of Taradunt; and obtained great favour by subduing that rebel. Ajaka now suspected Mahomet was designed to succeed his father, and resolved to ruin him at all events. The king being gone to attack the Algerine territories, she sent Mahomet a counterfeit order to behead an old Arabian cheyk, a great favourite of Ismael. This was done, and an express brought news of the execution just as Ismael returned to Mequinez. Mahomet was ordered to appear; he did so, and produced the forged instrument; upon sight of which the king rode hastily to his palace, and all expected the immediate death of Ajaka; but she found means to appease the angry monarch.

Mahomet, convinced of Ajaka's designs, and her influence over his father, as he was returning to Taradunt, seized a royal caravan that was on its journey from Guinea to Mequinez; and wrote letters to Ismael and Ajaka filled with such reproaches as plainly proved his revolt. Mahomet plundered the city of Morocco. Melech its governor, and Bauchafra a relation of Ajaka, were made

made prisoners, and pretended to side with the conqueror. Mahomet intercepted letters, which he produced in council, proving Bouchafra's plotting to deliver him into the hands of his father; and as he suspected Melech of similar designs, he made him instantly cut off Bouchafra's head before the council.

Sidan, the son of Ajaka, was sent by Ismael against Mahomet; and during an engagement Melech suffering his division to be surrounded, Mahomet was forced to fly. Tho' this victory was owing to Melech's abandoning Mahomet, and Sidan interceded for his pardon, yet Ajaka was resolved on his destruction for beheading her relation Bouchafra. At her instigation, his relations were detained at Mequinez in hope of obtaining his pardon; and were one day ranged on one side of the street, whilst the relations of Ajaka and Bouchafra were placed on the other. Between these Melech was led by six negroes, and placed on a mule which conveyed him to the market-place; where he was stripped, and fastened to a plank. The sawyers were about to begin their work at his scull; but Bouchafra's children, to whom Ismael had committed the direction

of the matter, ordered them to begin at the other end; and when they had proceeded as far as his navel, they were ordered to draw the saw, and begin at the head; which they did, and continued their work till they had divided the body in two parts.

Sidan, having ineffectually besieged Taradunt, drew off his forces to Morocco. But as Mahomet was one day returning from his camp to the city of Taradunt, he was seized by a party of negroes who had lain in ambush for the purpose. The king on receiving news of his being taken and on his way to Mequinez, set out to meet him with 2000 horse and 1000 foot. The cavalcade was preceded by 40 Christian slaves, who carried a large copper containing a hundred weight of pitch and a hundred weight of tallow; six butchers followed with large knives, and then a cart laden with wood. On the meeting of the king and prince, the latter, perceiving the terrible apparatus for execution, cried out, *For God and the Prophet's sake, forgive me, father, I beseech thee.* But Ismael disregarding his cries, bid one of the butcher's cut off his hand and foot on the edge of the copper. The fellow hesitating, Ismael cut off his head, and bid another

other perform the operation, who instantly obeyed. He then asked Mahomet, *Dost know thy father now?* and turning about, cut off the executioner's head at one stroke of his scymetar. The prince's arm and leg were then dipped in the melted pitch to stop the blood; and his father hastened back to Mequinez, whither Mahomet followed, and died thirteen days after of a mortification.

On the death of his brother, Sidan laid siege to Taradunt, which surrendered after the loss of 10,000 inhabitants by famine; and the conqueror massacred all the rest.

Ismael now grew jealous of the power of Sidan, and tried every artifice to draw him to Mequinez. This proving ineffectual, his father prevailed on three of his wives to take advantage of his drunkenness, and smother him in his sleep; after which he delivered the women up to the revenge of Ajaka, who had their breasts cut off, which she forced them to eat, and then ordered the executioner to strangle them.

Abdalmelech, another son, revolted soon after; and Ismael, dying in 1727, cut him off from the succession, and left the empire to Muley Hamet, a younger brother. The treasures left by Ismael amounted to fifty millions,

millions, besides gold and jewels of immense value ; to which Hamet added ten millions extorted during the life of his father, whose last 800 wives he stripped of all their gold and jewels immediately after his death. The drunkenness and debauchery of Hamet soon provoked some of his subjects to take arms in favour of Abdalmelech ; and his success in suppressing this insurrection only made him more intemperate and cruel. One servant was thrown headlong from the top of his palace for having stopped his pipe too hard ; another was repeatedly tossed from a blanket till his falls on the ground had broke all his limbs, for not bringing his dogs at a minute's time. A wife, who had displeased him when in a drunken fit, had all her teeth drawn ; but forgetting this, he afterwards desired her company, and on discovering her sad case, presented her with all the teeth of the tooth-drawer. Having forcibly debauched two young Jewesses just after the marriage ceremony, he sent them to their husbands ; but finding them registered as his concubines, he afterwards put both couples to death. He was, however, deposed in 1728, and sent prisoner to Taffilet, by Abdalmelech ; who treated the civil and military

tary officers to whom he owed his elevation with the greatest insolence, oppressed all his subjects, and was particularly cruel to his Christian slaves. His predecessor Hamet had permitted two Christians of each country to go home on parole, to solicit the ransom of their fellow-captives. The two Frenchmen returned with some religious fathers, who brought a vast sum and rich presents for the redemption of their countrymen. Hamet, however, had been deposed, and before they could get to Mequinez, Abdalmelech had their persons and property seized, reloaded the two returned captives with chains, and compelled the missionaries to quit his dominions in three days, on pain of being burnt alive.

He had not been three months on the throne, when his cruelty had provoked the Black soldiers to recal Hamet, who entered Mequinez sword in hand, nailed his principal enemies to the city gates, there to expire in the greatest agonies, and continued the pillage for three days. Abdalmelech was delivered up by the Fezians after a three month's siege; and Hamet finding himself near dissolution, had his brother strangled, to clear the way for his own son Bouffar.

One

One of Ismael's wives, however, obtained the election of her son Abdallah, by the distribution of large sums among the Black troops. Bouffar and his prime minister, a reputed saint, were taken ; and Abdallah, addressing the counsellor with *Let's see if thy sanctity can save thee*, beheaded him with his own hand. Abdallah had won the affections of the people by a hypocritical shew of gentleness, but no sooner thought himself fixed on the throne, than he discovered the real malignity of his temper, and exercised it on an eminent alcaide, who was accused of not paying the usual tribute. He ordered him to be led into the court-yard of his palace, and stripped naked. An ox being then beheaded and laid open, the alcaide was placed at full length in the body, with only his head out to breathe ; and the carcase being hooped to hold him fast, he was fed with a little rice now and then, just to keep him alive till the worms which bred in the ox gradually devoured his flesh from his bones.

Muley Abdallah having not only failed in several attempts to retake Ceuta from the Spaniards, but (in 1732) lost Oran also, became more cruel than ever. The least mistake of his officers was punished with instant death.

death. The Arabs no longer willing to pay his great demands, took arms, and defeated him in a battle near Fez, to which city he retired, and gratified his spleen by the most flagrant barbarities on the innocent inhabitants. His mother, fearing the consequences of his tyranny, remonstrated with him; but he answered, *My subjects have no other title to their lives than my will; and it is one of my best pleasures to kill them with my own hand.* She however, repeated her reproofs so often, that he determined to get rid of her; but his intention was perceived and she hid herself from his vengeance, under the pretence of a pilgrimage to Mecca.

He, however, gave one instance of mercy, by chiding his officers for having stripped 4000 Arabs, whom they had taken prisoners; and dismissed the captives with their lives and a present of clothing. But it was not long before he overbalanced this by an action of a contrary nature. The general of his negroes, imagining Abdallah had a design upon his life, stirred up his troops to a revolt; and it was agreed to seat Muley Ali, another son of Ismael, on the throne. Abdallah fled, in order to shelter himself with the Arabs, to whom he shewn the above

clemency ; and on the way was met by eight of their chiefs, who were coming to offer their services. These, however, took this opportunity to reason with him on the ill conduct which had reduced him to his present distress ; and he was so impatient of the remonstrance, that he instantly cut off the heads of all these friends with his own hand.

Muley Ali entered Mequinez without opposition ; but Abdallah had taken all his treasures with him, and used them so successfully in bribing the revolted Blacks, that numbers of them deserted Ali ; and Abdallah (in 1736) recovered Mequinez. His return to that city was followed by the plundering of the inhabitants, by the raising of the citadel, and the beheading of every foldier in the garrison. The governor to avoid the cruelty of Abdallah had cut his own throat, and those of all his wives and children, except his youngest son, who was taken and hanged.

The general of the Blacks, seeing Ali was not liked on account of his frequent intoxication by the use of opium, now set up another brother, Muley Sidi. Abdallah once more tried the effect of bribery, and the general
was

was delivered into his hands. This officer, however, had fled for sanctuary to a celebrated mosque; and hoping to save life by taking advantage of the Moorish superstitions, put on the holy garments of a much-reverenced saint, in which he was conveyed to Abdallah. The emperor kissed the sacred vestments with all seeming respect; then ordering them to be taken off, plunged his spear into the breast of the general, and called for a cup to receive some of his blood, which he intended to drink in token of revenge. His prime minister, however, represented this action to be beneath the dignity of a sovereign; and obtained leave to shew his loyalty by swallowing the draught himself.

The death of the general did not put an end to the people's hope of dethroning the tyrant. Muley Sidi had a strong party at Fez; the Blacks murmured greatly, on account of not being paid all the money promised for betraying their commander, and were ready to join the Fezians. Abdallah, thinking no time to be lost, made several unsuccessful attempts to take Fez; but being at last signally defeated, he took his son, wives, and what treasure he could get together, and fled to the mountains. The Fezians paid the Blacks 400,000 ducats,

which Abdallah had promised them, and Sidi was considered as firmly seated on the throne ; but his irregularities and frequent breaches of promise soon raised a general clamour ; which Abdallah took advantage of, and returning from his retirement, raised an army in haste, with which he defeated the troops of Sidi, who was wounded in the action and fled for his life. Thus Abdallah once more recovered the empire ; in the possession of which the British captives found him, as related in the preceding Narrative of their Sufferings.

The *principal divisions* of the Moorish empire are the four large provinces (once kingdoms) of Fez, Morocco, Sus, and Taffilet.

Its *boundaries* are, the Algerine territories on the east, Mount Atlas on the south, the Atlantic Ocean on the west, and the Mediterranean Sea on the north.

Its general *extent* is estimated at about 500 miles in length from north to south, and almost the same in breadth from east to west.

The climate is generally warm, but rather more temperate than might be expected from its southern situation, being moderated by the mountains and sea-breezes. The winter begins

begins with November, when the rains set in, and continue till January. The tops of the mountains are covered with snow great part of the year; and the frosts are sometimes sharp at night in the vallies, but always yield to the power of the noon-day sun. The north winds of March are often piercing; but the spring commencing in February, the weather from thence is generally pleasant and wholesome, except during the fertilizing showers of the rainy month of May, which sometimes continue too long, and produce pestilential fevers. Their summer lasts from the end of May to the end of August, and their autumn from thence to November.

The *face of the country* is agreeably diversified by the branches of Mount Atlas, which extend thro' most of the provinces. The highest parts of some are rugged and inaccessible, and may be seen to a vast distance at sea. Their summits, being covered with snow great part of the year, may be said to have but two seasons. Men shelter themselves and their cattle in caverns from October to April, when the snows dissolve, and the verdure of summer appears immediately. The hills in general have many towns and villages, and feed plenty of cattle. The
country

country has but few woods, and scarcely any timber trees. Several large rivers issue from the mountains, and fall into the Atlantic and Mediterranean.

The *produce* consists of corn, wine, oil, rice, all sorts of fruit, wax, honey, sugar, gums, indigo, ginger, cotton, silk, the finest wool, and excellent hemp and flax; but the tyranny of the government so checks industry that not one hundredth part is cultivated; and that which is does not produce one third of what might be raised. The mountains have veins of gold, silver, copper, and iron; but the indolence of the people lets them remain in a great measure unworked. Their rivers and bays have abundance and variety of excellent fish.

The *animals* inhabiting the deserts are lions, tigers, leopards, hyenas, and monstrous serpents. The horses of Barbary have always been esteemed. Other beasts of burden are camels, dromedaries, asses, mules, and kumrahs, a creature begot by an ass upon a cow. Their cows yield very little milk, and the sheep but little wool, tho' they are very large, as well as their goats. Boars, porcupines, foxes, apes, rabbits, hares, ferrets, weasels, moles, cameleons, and all sorts of reptiles,

reptiles, (many very venomous) abound in Morocco. Ostriches, eagles, vultures, hawks, partridges, quails, and all kinds of poultry and wild fowl are plenty.

The *inhabitants* of this empire are of various sorts, Berberes, Arabs, Moors, Blacks, Jews, Renegadoes, and Christian slaves.—— The Berberes are scattered all over Barbary, stile themselves the oldest inhabitants, follow their ancient customs and language, and live in huts on the mountains, so that they have never been quite subdued. They are divided into numerous tribes, under their respective chiefs. Some of them, however, range from place to place, living in tents; but have nevertheless kept themselves from mixing with others. These are the richest, go better clothed, traffic in cattle, hides, wax, honey, iron, &c. and have a few manufactures of that metal, and some weavers.—— The Arabs are descended from the Mahometans, which overran Barbary. In Morocco they are of the wandering kind, who range from place to place, cultivate the most fruitful spots, and estimate their wealth by the number of their horses, cattle, quantity of corn, &c. They are governed by their own cheyks or priests. Their encampments

are circular, and the cheyk's tent stands in the middle. They are generally a very nasty people, which can scarcely be avoided, as men, women, children, horses, cattle, and poultry lie all together in the same tent. They pay a tythe of their property yearly to the emperor, who derives a considerable revenue from this part of his subjects, there being above 300,000 taxable only in the kingdom of Fez. Some tribes, however, live in the most inaccessible parts of the mountains, from whence they sally out and plunder travellers, caravans, and villages.

—The Moors are descendants of those who were driven out of Spain in the 13th century. They are of two classes; one living in the open country by agriculture and grazing; the other inhabiting the towns and seaports, and following handicraft-trades and maritime commerce. The Moors are extremely superstitious, jealous, treacherous, covetous, and revengeful.—The Blacks will be spoken of when an account is given of the army.—

The Jews are the principal merchants, factors, coiners, and bankers of this country; are here accounted the greatest rogues under the sun, and make themselves ample recompence for for the taxes they pay, by their uncommon
frauds

frauds and impositions on all they deal with. The Renegadoes are equally hated both by Moors and Christians ; and tho' not kept in absolute slavery, are sent to do military duty at the royal palaces and garrisons, on very slender pay. As to Christian slaves, their hard condition has been fully explained in the foregoing Narrative.

The general *language* is the modern Arabic, one of the most extensive in the world, being not only in use thro' every part of this empire, but understood in every other state of Barbary and all the Turkish dominions ; and may probably owe its preservation and universality to the frequent pilgrimages to Mecca.

The *government* (if tyranny deserve that name) has been fully proved by the preceding history to be the most despotic under heaven, especially since the xeriffs have possessed the throne. The religion, customs, and prejudices of the Moors confirm their slavery. The emperor is acknowledged to have uncontrollable power over their lives and property, and in great measure over their consciences too. As the successor of Mahomet, he is the interpreter of the Koran, tho' the generality of the sovereigns have not

been able to read, as was the case of Muley Ismael, the most exact observer of religious ceremonies, and the most bloody tyrant that ever burdened the earth. He appoints all judges (of whom those at Fez and Morocco are the chief) who explain all matters respecting religion; and, being his creatures, strictly observe his will; so that his commands being immediately made known in every part, none can plead ignorance; and they are accordingly received with implicit and religious submission. The Moors are bred up in the notion that those who die in the execution of his orders, are entitled to paradise, especially those who die by his own hand; so that it is not so great a wonder, that there is such tyranny in the sovereign and passiveness in the subject. The obedience of the Arabs, however, has always been involuntary. The emperor declares himself heir of all his subjects, often seizes the deceased's effects, making such provision for the family as he pleases; and sometimes leaves the children of such as have offended him in extreme poverty. However, to keep up a poor pretence of justice, he allows the musti the name of a superiority in spirituals, with professed liberty to summon him at the
suit

suit of the meanest subject ; but the priest knows the ill consequence of offending the emperor too well ever to hazard it by exercising this specious authority.——The titles of the sovereign are, *The most glorious, mighty, and noble emperor of Afric ; king of Fez, Morocco, Sus, Dabra, all the Algarbe, and its territories in Afric ; and grand xeriff* (that is successor) *of the great prophet Mahomet.*——The musti and cadis are judges of all religious and civil matters ; as are the bashaws, alcaides, &c. of the state and army. These are all slaves of the prince, and tyrants of the people, from whom no favour or justice can be obtained without bribery. The highest posts are purchased at an exorbitant price, and kept by a constant tribute, rigorously exacted from the miserable people. An insinuation that a bashaw does not pay as much as he can, displaces him ; so that governors keep spies at court to prevent others from undermining them.——Muley Ismael's Jewish ministers, Memaran and Ben Hatter, had a difference. Memaran having the chief government of the Jews, and suspecting Ben Hatter wanted to displace him, offered the emperor a quantity of silver for his head. Ismael sent for Ben Hatter, and informed

him of what had been proposed ; upon which he offered double for the head of Memaran. The emperor then sent for the other, and taking the money from both, called them two fools, and bid them agree for the future. Ben Hatter married Memaran's daughter ; and both took care to squeeze the money paid the emperor out of the Jews under their jurisdiction.—Larbe Shott was descended from one of the best families in Barbary, and long resided at Gibraltar, as factor for a bashaw who carried on trade with that place. His enemies waited on Muley Ismael with a present, and accused him of drunkenness, infidelity, and inviting the Spaniards to invade Morocco ; on which the emperor sent for him ; without the least examination, told him he was an unbeliever and unfit to live ; and ordered him to be immediately sawn in two ; which was accordingly done at one of the gates of Mequinez.—This custom of purchasing the destruction of another prevails throughout the empire ; so that no man has a minute's security. If a covetous villain will be at the risque of reimbursing himself out of the effects of the person he buys, he has only to pay the bashaw or alcaide his demand, and the wretch is delivered
into

into his hands, and often tortured to make him discover his property. Mr. Hatfield, an English merchant, writes thus from Tetuan: *Yesterday, as Mr. Noble and I passed the prison, we saw a person hanging by his heels, with irons upon his legs, pinchers upon his nose, his flesh cut with scissars, and two men drubbing him. This was a bought man, who had been paid 500 ducats for; and they expected by these tortures, to force double the sum from him.*

The emperor's revenue (as may be supposed from what has been said) can scarce be computed; but his more regular income arises from a poll-tax on every head, a twelfth of all corn, fruits, &c. a tenth of cattle and goods, and various duties on exports and imports. Male Jews above 15 years old pay six crowns a year, besides occasional exactions. Christians pay so dear for licence to trade, that few settle till enticed by the emperor or his governors; who having once fixed them, extort most extravagantly; to which they must submit, or quit the country without their effects or debts. The alcaides, &c. buy their governments, as has been hinted; besides which, they build and fit out all the king's cruisers, and give him half their prizes; the other half is divided between the governor

nor and the ship's crew. All the prisoners become the slaves of the emperor, who pays 50 crowns per head for that half which pertains to the alcaide, &c. Detachments of Black troops collect the revenue annually, and severely treat defaulters; yet the whole amount of these taxes have been computed at no more than 265,000*l.* sterling. The emperor has also considerable profits on the trade to Negroland, and the caravans which travel eastward. But the most scandalous tributes are those required of foreign princes, whose ambassadors are the prey of every officer they fall in the way of, from the emperor himself to the meanest of his servants.

Their *monies* are,

A fuse of copper, worth 1-12th of a penny

	s.	d.
24 fuses make a blanquil of silver	0	2
4 blanquils - an ounce	0	8
7 blanquils - an octavo	1	2
14 blanquils - a quarto	2	4
2 quartos - a medio	4	8
27 blanquils - a dollar	4	6
100 blanquils - a pistole	16	8

The Jews are both coiners and melters, and make considerable profits by both; besides they are continually lessening and debasing the coin,

coin, so that it is dangerous to take any from them without the scales and touchstone.

The ordinary *land-force* is estimated at 80,000 horse and foot.—Renegadoes are forced into the foot service, generally do duty at the palaces and garrisons, receive only 20 blanquils a month and a little flour, are poorly clothed, and often purposely exposed in battle.—The Moorish troops, about 40,000, are levied, paid, and armed by the alcaides, in numbers proportioned to their districts. More are raised on emergencies; but they are in general of little service, as they want discipline, are scattered in small parties over the whole country, and when collected cannot be armed, as the royal arsenal does not afford above 10,000 musquets; so that when on duty the greater part have no other weapons than a sword, spear, or a mere club.—The main force of the emperor consists in about 40,000 Blacks, who are taken from Guinea in their infancy, trained only to arms, and know no master but the sovereign, to whose person they are generally firm friends, tho' sometimes mutinous for lack of due pay. Muley Ismael, being born of a negro woman, had a great fondness for this kind of soldiers; and he
took

took pains to improve and increase them. They have ever since been the only troops to which the emperor trusts the care of his person, palaces, wives, concubines, &c. They have accordingly the principal offices, and are dreaded by all the rest of his subjects. Notwithstanding their continual wars, and the pains taken by the late xeriffs, military discipline is very imperfect. Their cavalry are indeed surprizingly expert, but this is rather a display of agility than martial manœuvres. When drawn up for battle, the horse are stationed on the right and left, and the foot in the center, forming if ground admit, only two ranks, which are easily broken by an attack of the horse ; of which they stand in such fear, that 50 will drive 500 foot. The Black cavalry which are near the royal person are armed with guns, scymetars, and pistols ; those at a distance have only musquets and lances. The infantry are a motley crew ; some armed with guns ; others only with broad-swords, pikes, bows, or clubs. They advance to action with a shout, and a short prayer for victory. At first they fight (especially against Christians) with a most enthusiastic fury ; but if repulsed are seldom rallied, particularly if the enemy

enemy be Mahometans.—The Arabs and Berberes are not called to the field, but on pressing emergencies. Their duty is to supply the army with meat, corn, butter, oil, honey, &c. wherever they encamp, on pain of military execution. Sometimes, however, (being Mahometans) they are allowed an opportunity of meriting heaven by an expedition against the Christians; but are disarmed and sent home at the end of the campaign.

The *navy* of Morocco has always been inconsiderable. Twelve vessels, of 20 guns and 200 men each, are the utmost on record. Nor is this to be wondered at, as they have neither ports, timber, nor tackle.

The little *trade* is chiefly in the hands of Jews and Christians. Exports are copper, tin, wool, hides, honey, wax, dates, raisins, almonds, olives, indigo, gum, ivory, &c. Imports are cloths, linen, lead, iron, hardware, and warlike stores. A caravan sets out annually from Fez to Mecca, on the double principle of religion and trade; which carries fine woollens, skins, cochineal, indigo, and ostrich feathers; and brings back silk, muslin, and drugs. The caravans to Guinea carry woollen and silk goods, salt,

oil, &c. and return with gold dust, ivory, and negroes. The trade of Morocco might be more but they want ports, and (a much greater requisite) industry. The heavy port duties are another obstacle. The English indeed pay but half as much as other nations; but who can be willing to trade with a people who practise the grossest frauds on strangers with impunity.

The *religion* of Morocco has already been said to be Mahometanism, of which (as taught by the Koran) an account has been given. But Mahometanism has its sectaries; and the Moors follow the doctrines of Melech, one of Mahomet's immediate disciples, and steward of his household. To these they have added various superstitions of their own; such as placing victuals and money on the graves of their relations, that they may not want in the other world; making the graves wide at bottom, to give them room to gather up their bones at the resurrection; and burying but one in a grave, that they may not mistake each other's bones. They embellish the sepulchres with tomb-stones, cupolas, &c. and will not suffer Christians to approach them. The burial-grounds, which are generally without the walls of the cities,

are

are crowded every Friday (their sabbath) by relations of the deceased, especially females, who are dressed in blue as mourning, and pray very devoutly ; in which they are assisted by the marabouts, a sort of monks, who have cells in the neighbourhood, and repeat scraps of the Koran, &c. in proportion as they are paid for their trouble. Those who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca are particularly venerated ; and even the horses, camels, &c. which have been there are esteemed holy, exempted from labour, well fed, and buried with great respect. These beasts are distinguished by strings of beads, and texts of the Koran written on parchment and sewed in silk, which are hung about their necks. If their owners cannot maintain them, they are allowed a subsistence from the revenues of the mosque, or parish-church ; and there are many devotees who delight to feed them. Muley Ismael had one of these horses constantly led before that he rode on, which was richly ornamented, and attended by a Christian slave, who carried a pot to catch its excrements, and a napkin to wipe it clean. They enter their mosques barefooted, and behave there with great devotion. No Christian can enter

them; nor are any of their women admitted, for fear they should divert the attention of the men; so that the females must either pray at home, or at the sepulchres. If a man absent himself from the mosque eight days, he is incapable of being a witness for the first offence, fined for the second, and burnt for the third. Ideots and lunatics are considered as persons inspired. The sepulchres of these and of such as have gone to Mecca, and likewise the mosques, are sanctuaries for all crimes, except treason. They hold, that all persons, of every nation and religion, who die before the age of fifteen, may be saved; but none older, except the moslems of their own sect. All the virgins of other religions, that die before the age of fifteen, are reserved to make up the seventy females allowed to each moslem in paradise.

The regular *priesthood* consists of the mustis of Fez and Morocco, who may be considered as archbishops; of the hatibs of the great mosques in other large cities, who are a sort of bishops; and those of common mosques, who are as parish priests. The habit of the Moorish clergy is like that of the laity; but they distinguish themselves by dying their beards red, and cutting the upper leathers of
their

their shoes or slippers into the shape of fleurs-de-lis.—The cheyks of the grazing Arabs are elected, and sometimes hereditary, governors of their particular tribes, and hold the triple authority of priest, magistrate, and general. Several inferior cheyks are subject to the controul of a particular one, called an emir, who hears appeals, determines between disagreeing tribes, and takes the command in chief, when the general interest is at stake. The cheyks are distinguished by the length and superior fineness of their clothing.—

The marabouts are a set of monkish cheats, respected as saints all over the empire. They affect great mortification and austerity; and pretend to a power of hurting any who displease them. They are of three sorts. The first class live in and about the cities and towns, and frequently move from one to another; being hired by travellers, as a safeguard against thieves, who are here so superstitious that they will attack no company who have a marabout with them. They sell their prayers for the dead, and pretend to astrology, conjuration, and enchantment; on which account they raise considerable revenues from the superstitious people. The second class are absolute wanderers; abstain
from

from all flesh-meats, have a particular diet, and fast often, wear amulets or charms, and pretend to have an intercourse with angels. The third class live in woods and deserts, shun all conversation, and live only on herbs.

The *people* of Morocco are generally robust and strong-limbed. A messenger will go 150 miles, for a xequin, worth 9s. with great expedition, enduring heat and cold to admiration. When the ground is deluged with rain and a storm overhead besides, they'll only look for a bush or great stone, squat down with their back towards it, wrap themselves up in their albornooce, and remain there all night. Some of the most famous footmen will go sixty leagues in three days. They swim the rivers in the depth of winter, if the force of the current does not deter them. These men are generally thin, and for seven or eight days journey (there being no houses on the road) carry only a little meal and a few figs in a goat's skin.

The women have fine eyes, and some of them beautiful skins, which a stranger may sometimes have an opportunity of seeing, if he meet them in the fields; for a man may live a year in Morocco, and not see the face of a Moorish woman in the streets. When they

they go abroad, they are drest almost like the men; their outward garment being an alhague, with which they cover their heads bringing it down to their eyes, and underneath tie a piece of white cloth, to hide the lower part of the face; the alhagues cover all but their legs, which generally are naked, when they are at home or visit from the tops of houses; only some of the better sort have their drawers so long, that they reach to their feet, hanging in great loose folds about their legs; their shoes are the same as the mens. Within doors they appear in their hair, having only a single binder about their foreheads; their hair is in two large plaits, that hang down behind at full length; they wear a vest open from the bosom to the waist, to shew their embroidered smocks; they fasten large pieces of muslin to the sleeves of their vests which hang down very low, in the nature of ruffles; their drawers are longer than the mens, reaching generally to the calf; over their drawers they wear a short petticoat; they put bracelets upon their legs and arms, and large ear-rings in their ears.

The Moorish women live in the upper apartments, and often visit one another from the tops of their houses. When the women
visit

visit one another, they leave their slippers at the door of the room, to give notice that a stranger is there ; during which time the men refrain from going into their wives or daughters, they being very punctual in observing the customs relating to women.

The custom of not letting them be seen prevails to such a degree, that when a man wants a wife, either his mother, or some of his female relations must go a wooing. When the bargain is made, (which is done before the cady or justice) the bride is to keep within for eight days, her friends coming to rejoice with her every day ; and a priest also visits her, and discourses on that holy state ; The husband with his friends uses the same ceremonies for five days before consummation, in a house which he has, or must take, to bring his wife to The last day the bride is put into a cage, covered with a fine white linen cloth, and carried on mens shoulders to the house of her intended husband ; her friends, relations, and musick going before. Her brother (if she has one) leads her into the house, where a room is appointed for her and the women ; the man remains also in his room with his friends. When the evening approaches, they are let loose by the company, and

are hired to lament, who make a sad moan, and beat their hands and faces. If a man be dead, his wives get into the middle of the house, put ashes on their heads, jump about in a ring, scream like cats, and tear their cheeks with their nails. Some ask the dead, if he wanted any thing in this world, and whether he had not cuscufu enough? If the wife die, the husband receives the visits of condolence at his door; and if he be of middling rank, it is no shame for him to go out on the day of her death to provide for her funeral. They wash the corpse, wrap it in a new shroud, and carry it on a bier, followed by a great number of people. The relations light no fire for three days, but frequently visit the tomb, distribute bread, &c. to the poor, and throw flints on the grave, crying out *Cellem Allah*, i. e. *The light of God*, making loud outcries and other tokens of grief. The female relations cover their faces with a veil for a few days, and the men wear their beards a month.

Having no settled post in the country, nor any wheel-carriages, their light goods are conveyed to short distances on horses; but if they have large quantities to be carried far, they generally use camels. If an alcaide has

visit one another, they leave their slippers at the door of the room, to give notice that a stranger is there ; during which time the men refrain from going into their wives or daughters, they being very punctual in observing the customs relating to women.

The custom of not letting them be seen prevails to such a degree, that when a man wants a wife, either his mother, or some of his female relations must go a wooing. When the bargain is made, (which is done before the cady or justice) the bride is to keep within for eight days, her friends coming to rejoice with her every day ; and a priest also visits her, and discourses on that holy state ; The husband with his friends uses the same ceremonies for five days before consummation, in a house which he has, or must take, to bring his wife to The last day the bride is put into a cage, covered with a fine white linen cloth, and carried on mens shoulders to the house of her intended husband ; her friends, relations, and musick going before. Her brother (if she has one) leads her into the house, where a room is appointed for her and the women ; the man remains also in his room with his friends. When the evening approaches, they are let loose by the company, and

are hired to lament, who make a sad moan, and beat their hands and faces. If a man be dead, his wives get into the middle of the house, put ashes on their heads, jump about in a ring, scream like cats, and tear their cheeks with their nails. Some ask the dead, if he wanted any thing in this world, and whether he had not cuscufu enough? If the wife die, the husband receives the visits of condolence at his door; and if he be of middling rank, it is no shame for him to go out on the day of her death to provide for her funeral. They wash the corpse, wrap it in a new shroud, and carry it on a bier, followed by a great number of people. The relations light no fire for three days, but frequently visit the tomb, distribute bread, &c. to the poor, and throw flints on the grave, crying out *Cellem Allah*, i. e. *The light of God*, making loud outcries and other tokens of grief. The female relations cover their faces with a veil for a few days, and the men wear their beards a month.

Having no settled post in the country, nor any wheel-carriages, their light goods are conveyed to short distances on horses; but if they have large quantities to be carried far, they generally use camels. If an alcaide has

business with the emperor, he sends a gentleman on horseback; but the common method of sending letters is by the footmen we have already described.

Learning is wholly confined to their priests and doctors of their law. They have, however, regular schools in their cities and towns, to teach children to read, write, and cast accounts; but all the books they read are short catechisms, and at last the Koran; and when a boy has gone thro' this, he is handsomely dressed, placed on a horse, and led about in triumph by the rest of the school-boys. The children never receive any other chastisement but on the soles of their feet with a small rod or flat rule. The Moors are much given to astrology and place great confidence in charms. Their physicians are generally ignorant quacks, who deal in simples, amulets, and spells. The surgeons are not better; which gives renegadoes an opportunity of setting up in these professions.

The Koran prohibiting all games of hazard, the Moors abhor cards and dice, but sometimes amuse themselves at draughts, chess, &c. Eating, drinking, sleeping, women, horses, and prayers, almost wholly engross their

their time. If a person loses money at any game, and complains to the cady, the winner is obliged to restore it, and suffers a fine or the bastinado.

The Moors profess a great abhorrence of Christians, and bring up their children to the same. They usually call them *Dogs*, and seldom mention them without a curse. Ambassadors themselves have been hooted at and pelted by the populace. They have an annual feast in memory of a victory over the Christians, when the gravest people pass the streets with wooden swords, lances, &c. and furnish children with the same, making them engage and cry out, *Thus we destroy the Christians.*

The Moorish houses have in general no windows towards the streets, being built like our inns, with a square court, and galleries round it, supported by pillars. The rooms are long and narrow, four on a floor, that is one on each side of the court, each opening to a gallery with a large folding door, at which all their light received. The houses of the poorer sort are commonly but one story high; those of the middle class two; and those of the higher ranks three, with a fountain in the middle of the open square. The
roofs

roofs are flat; so that in many places they walk a great way on the tops of them.

Whilst within doors, the Moors always sit or lay on mats, and never make walking a recreation. They think it ridiculous, and say, *Is it not better for a man to stay in the place where he is, than to go to another merely for the sake of coming back again?*

When they sit at meat, they fill their bellies without speaking to each other: They are extremely fond of butter-milk; and a black pitcher of it is generally brought as a desert. The principal person takes a ladleful, and then presents it to the next; and thus it passes round the company several times.

The tents of the Arabs are of an oblong oval figure, supported in the middle by two or three posts, full of hooks, on which they hang their clothes, arms, saddles, &c. The rest of the furniture consists chiefly in pots, dishes, plates, a wooden pestle and mortar to pound their maize in, and a portable oven. The tents are larger or smaller, according to the number of the family, and divided into apartments by curtains. The Arabs lie on a mat, carpet, or skin, without a pillow, or any covering but their haik, a sort of blanket or large cloak. The married have a corner
of

of the tent set apart for them, and the rest shift for themselves as well as they can; so that the inside of the tent has the appearance of a lumber-room, where men, women, children, horses, and household goods are jumbled together. The women bake, brew, dress victuals, fetch wood and water, milk the cows, and do the office of grooms. They are, however, in other respects, generally well treated. The luxury of the Arabs consists principally in the dress of the men and women, and the ornaments of their horses and weapons. The females adorn their heads, necks, arms, and legs, with gold chains, pearls, beads of coral, chrystal, bugles, and other trinkets. They never appear abroad without their veils; never stir out but on family business; and the men always turn aside when they meet them. The women's apartments are accessible to none but their husbands; and if he be so poor as not to have a separate tent for his women, he will rather do business with a stranger in the open air, then suffer him to enter. The dress of the men is a pair of trowsers, over which their shirt hangs almost to the knees. Upon this is worn a short jacket of blue or black cotton,

ton, fine cloth, or serge, which laps over the breast, has long narrow sleeves, and is tied round the waist with a broad sash. The poorer sort wear neither shirt nor jacket, but cover themselves with an ordinary linen cloth. They commonly stick a cutlass or two in their sash; to which they hang their handkerchief and a pocket for pipes, tobacco, &c. The better sort wear red Morocco shoes and boots; but the poor generally go barefooted. Cheyks and other officers wear a red cap wrapped in white cotton as a turban, and a sleeveless saik or furtout of white cloth with a cape to cover the head in wet weather.

Women going abroad wear long drawers and woollen shifts with long wide sleeves; but at home they only wrap a towel round their middle. Some tribes have a custom for the husband and wife to put on a new shirt and shift on their wedding-day and not to have it washed or even taken off till it is worn out. Women wear a jacket and sash like the men, but commonly of richer stuff; and over this a large blue robe reaching to their feet. Their heads and hands are covered with a veil. Their ears, neck, breast, arms, wrists, almost every finger, and

and their ankles are covered with strings of coral, amber, &c. and rings of gold, silver, and ivory, to which they fix little brass bells. Their shoes are like the mens. The meaner sort, however, only wrap a piece of cloth about the body which reaches to the knee, and cover the head and breast with a veil, the legs and feet remaining bare. To supply the place of more costly finery, they mark their forehead, cheeks, chin, belly and thighs with variety of figures, which are pricked in and cannot be removed.

The food of the Arabs is generally mean, their bread is made of millet, maize, or rice, made into cakes baked on the hearth or fried in a pan. They sometimes eat fish and flesh, but never both at one meal. Their drink is commonly water; and they brew a weak liquor from rice or millet which they mix with mare or camel's milk. Their greatest treat is oil and vinegar well beaten together, and a hot cake dipped in it. They wash their hands, and then sit cross-legged round a mat, on which their dishes are placed; they have no knives or forks, but divide the meat with their fingers, and each has a handkerchief at his girdle to wipe his hands and mouth.

H h

Their

Their marriages are little better than bargains between the bridegroom and father of the bride.

The former generally purchases his wife by a present of camels, horses, sheep, and cows; which being delivered, the young man is allowed to visit her in her own apartment, where she sits dressed in her best ornaments to receive him. The father entering with him acquaints the daughter of what he has received for her, and the husband says, *A prudent and virtuous wife is never too dearly bought.* As the woman is seldom seen till the purchase is made, if she does not answer expectation, he may divorce her, but he forfeits the premium given. If approved of, the bride remains some time with her father, and receives the congratulations of her female friends; after which they carry her to her spouse, either on horseback, or in a fine sedan, which is borne between two camels, with loud acclamations and songs; and she is received by his female relations with the same tokens of joy. Upon her alighting she thrusts a pointed stick into the ground, intimating, that as it cannot be removed without some hand to pluck it up, so she cannot be separated from her husband unless

unless he divorce her. She is then hurried away to milk the cows, attend the bee-hives, feed the camels, dress the horses, or do some other part of her duty, after which she is received by her husband, and does not stir from the tent for the first month, which being expired, she engages in the family business like other wives. They marry very young; the sons at 14 or 15 years old; the girls at 9 or ten; and it is not uncommon to see them suckling their children at 10 or 11 years of age, and sometimes earlier. The children generally walk alone at a half-year old, and those of the poor go naked till the age of six. When the mothers fetch wood or water, they carry their infants in a bag at their back.

When an Arab dies, the women of that tent alarm the whole encampment with their cries and howlings; and all the women of the circle instantly join them in the hideous chorus. To hear their shrieks, and see the tears, clapping of hands, beating of breasts, tearing of hair, and twistings of the body, which they practise on such occasions, one might imagine them under the deepest affliction; but this is all mere custom, and they pass in an instant from the greatest acts of mourning to the highest jollity. The

men never express their grief aloud, but maintain a sober grave appearance ; and in this silent guise they follow the corpse to a neighbouring hill, where it is buried, and a heap of stones raised on the grave, which at once serve for a monument, and to keep the body from being dug up and eaten by the wild beasts.

The city of *Morocco*, from whence the empire takes its name, was built in the 12th century, by Texifen and his son Yusef, who after his victories in Spain, brought 30,000 slaves from thence, and employed them in building its walls, twelve miles in circumference. It is said to have formerly contained 100,000 houses, and a very great number of palaces, mosques, &c. but by civil wars and the removal of the court to Mequinez, it has so dwindled that one third of it lies waste, and the inhabitants are said to be now but 25,000. It is situated in the most delightful plain of all Africa, about 16 miles north of Mount Atlas, and 170 from the Atlantic Ocean. Its high walls still remain, the cement of which is so hard as to resist the pick-ax ; and notwithstanding the many sieges and assaults they have undergone, not one breach is to be seen in them. The royal
palace

palace of Alcaffava is a fortress, situated on the south side of the city, large enough to contain 4000 houses. The walls are high and strong, flanked with lofty towers, and surrounded by a good ditch, with gates to the north and south. Thirty of the state-rooms, and the galleries leading to them, are covered with leaf gold. The gardens are adorned with fish-ponds, terraces, &c. and are very delightful. Here is a most famous mosque, built by Abdalmumen, which stands in the center of a spacious inclosure. Its beautiful tower, built by the emperor Almanfor, is very lofty, and crowned with a spire 70 feet high, on the top of which were fixed, by an iron spike run thro' them, four large copper balls plated with gold, the first of the capacity of 8 bushels, the second 4, the third 2, and the highest 1. The vulgar reported them to have been placed there by a magician, and imagined the taking them down would produce a public calamity; but Muley Ishmael, in a time of necessity, made no scruple take them off and convert them to his own advantage. The mosque is decorated with carvings in jasper, marble, and other costly stone, which with its stately brazen gates, were taken by the Moors from
the

the cathedral of Seville in Spain. This and a few other mosques, hospitals, and about 400 aquaducts mostly decayed, are all that remain of the city's ancient splendor. Many streets are ruinous and uninhabited; and the stone buildings of the rich are so few, so distant from each other, and surrounded by the low mud-walled houses of the poor, that they give no air of consequence to the city. The Jews are estimated at 4000, and live in a separate quarter walled in. Foreign agents, ambassadors, &c. generally reside amongst the Jews. The Christian merchants live near the custom-house. The river Tensift runs thro' the middle of the city, and is crossed by two handsome bridges.

Fez is divided into the Old and New Cities. — Old *Fez* is about 9 miles in circuit, and the largest, most populous, and wealthiest place in the empire. It is about 264 miles north-east of Morocco, and 75 from the Mediterranean. It stands on the declivity of two hills and the valley between them, and is surrounded with a strong wall of square stone, flanked with towers. It is supplied with water by the river *Fez*, which here divides itself into six branches, turns 400 mills, and has no less than 250 bridges. The streets are mostly

mostly strait but narrow; and the houses have generally turrets on the tops, in which are the womens apartments. There are 336 public ovens daily employed from morning to night. The mosques are about 500, and 50 of them considerable. That called the Caruin, including its college and cloister, is a mile and half in circumference. It has 30 stately gates, a roof 150 cubits long, and 80 broad. The tower is stupendously high, supported by 30 pillars in length, and 20 in breadth. The roof is divided into 17 large arches, besides inferior ones, and the whole sustained by 1500 white marble pillars. Every arch has large lamps burning in them, curiously wrought; particularly that which hangs over the alsaki, or preacher,'s desk is surrounded by 150 smaller ones. There are 400 cisterns in the cloister, wherein the people wash before prayers. Within the close of this mosque is a college, where the Mahometan divinity, philosophy, &c. are taught; of which the musti is president; and here is a large library, a rare thing in Morocco. The other colleges, mosques, baths, hospitals, &c. are very noble. Here are above 200 large inns, which pay a tax to the governor for a licence, and are receptacles of the

the most unnatural male prostitutes, who here parade the streets in womens clothes. The inhabitants of the Old City are reckoned about 300,000. It swarms with tradesmen and merchants of all sorts, being the principal market of all Barbary, to which European goods are brought, and thence distributed thro' the provinces, from which their respective commodities are returned in exchange. The Jews here, amounting to about 5000, are the principal brokers.— New Fez was originally built for a citadel, in which stands the royal palace, where the emperor sometimes resides. It stands about a mile from the Old City, is divided into 15 wards, according to the different sorts of tradesmen that dwell in them. The houses are reckoned between 3 and 4,000, and the inhabitants at 20,000. It has a great number of mosques, colleges, hospitals, &c.

Mequinez stands in a delightful plain, 36 miles west of Fez, and 10 east of Sallee. It is about three miles in compass, and surrounded with stout walls, outside which are delicious gardens, extending a considerable way into the country. It is full of mosques, colleges, baths, and public buildings. Here is a continual market, to which the Arabs bring

bring their commodities for sale. The palace, which consists of a number of squares and two noble mosques, interspersed with parks, gardens, pavilions, &c. resembles a city of itself. In one part is the seraglio, in another the halls of state, in a third the work-shops of the persons employed in the royal armoury, and in a fourth the emperor's artillery, magazines, guard-houses, &c. In the middle of the city live the Jews, the gates of whose quarter are locked up every night. They have a guard to protect them from being plundered by the common people, who hate them almost as much as they do Christians. It is death for a Jew to lift his hand against the meanest Moor; so that the very boys kick them about, and they have no remedy but running away. The Negro-Town, so called because the Black troops are quartered in it, is separated from Mequinez only by a high road.

Sallee stands on the coast of the Atlantic Ocean, at the mouth of the river Buregreg, which divides it into two parts. Both these are surrounded with high walls. On the south-east is a high tower, which serves as a land-mark by day and a light-house by night. Below this are two docks; one for building

ships, the other for them to winter in. The harbour is large but shallow, and having a bar across its mouth, none but light vessels can enter it. The town is protected by two castles; and a battery on the point of a rock facing the bar secures the vessels that seek shelter in the road from the pursuit of an enemy. The emperor's governor presides in the town-council; and all imports pay a tenth to government; but the chief wealth of the place arises from the piracies of its corsairs, which are the boldest and most expert of any in Barbary.

Tangier stands in a fine bay in the Streight of Gibraltar, and was once the capital of the province. The Portugueze took it about the year 1473, and made it very strong. It was given to the English as part of the marriage-portion of Catherine, princess of Portugal, wife of Charles II. who at a great cost increased the fortifications, and built a mole 300 fathoms into the sea; but finding it chargeable, and the parliament refusing to vote money for its maintenance, he caused all the military works to be blown up in 1684, after 22 years possession; and notwithstanding some attempts of the Moors to raise it, it is now but a poor fishing town.

Tetuan

Tetuan is situated at the opening of the Streight into the Mediterranean, and stands on the rising of a rocky hill between two high mountains, about six miles from the sea, having castle higher on the hill, so that it commands the town. It is neither large nor strong, being surrounded by a wall made of mud and mortar, framed in wooden cases. It has a garrison of 1500 foot and 500 horse. In the valley runs a little river, navigable for small vessels as far as *Marteene*, a place about two miles from the bay, where they load and unload. The port is guarded by a square castle, flanked with towers, and capable of holding 5000 men. This affords a shelter to the corsairs, who resort here for provisions; on which account the Spaniards once sunk a large flat-bottom vessel, full of stones, in order to choak up the entrance of the river; but the Moors found means to remove it. *Tetuan* contains about 800 houses; and the inhabitants, by their piracies on some nations and trade with others, are generally in pretty good circumstances, tho' they dare not shew it, for fear of being fleeced by the government. The Jews are computed at about 5000, and have here 7 synagogues, tho' but 170 houses. The

outsides of the buildings are kept constantly whitewashed, and dazzle the eye when the sun shines. The shops here are very small, and have no doors to them ; but the shop-keeper, having opened the shutters, jumps in, and sits cross-legged on the counter. The goods are kept in drawers generally within his reach ; so that he serves his customers, who stand in the street, without moving from his place. The bashaw's palace is a magnificent structure ; as is his villa, about two miles from the town. The burying-ground is so full of pyramids, cupolas, and tomb-stones, that it looks like a town in miniature. The adjacent country is covered with gardens, orchards, villas, and shady walks, which, joined to a beautiful sea-prospect, render it one of the most delightful spots in all Barbary.

It is remarkable, that the Africans in general have been characterised by the historians of all ages, as proud, lazy, treacherous, cruel, revengeful, thievish, fraudulent, lustful, intemperate, cowardly, ignorant, and superstitious ; and this character they still preserve, if their enthusiastic fury in their attacks on Christians be not mistaken for courage. Their own marabouts in some
measure

measure acknowledge the truth of the accusation, and have invented the following tale as a palliative.—The three sons of Noah (say they) were of different complexions; the first white, the second tawny, and the third black. Noah was no sooner dead, than they agreed to divide his property, which consisted of gold, silver, ivory, jewels, silk, woollen and linen cloth, horses, camels, cattle, grain, arms, household stuff, pipes, tobacco, &c. Having spent the day in sorting the goods, they agreed to divide them next morning; so they supped together, and after a friendly pipe, each retired to his own tent. The white brother, however, soon got up, took the gold, jewels, and most valuable goods, put them on the best horses, and rode away to the country, where his white posterity have been ever since. The tawny arose soon after with the same intent, and was surprized to find his brother had been beforehand with him; however, he took the remaining horses, camels, and cattle, the best carpets, cloth, &c. and set off for another part of the world. The black, being the laziest of the three, came to the place after breakfast, and seeing neither of the brothers, and only a few coarse cloths,
some

some millet, rice, tobacco, pipes, and other trifles, he immediately judged what had been done. In this deplorable situation, he takes a pipe in his mouth, and sits down to consider what was best to do, in order to retrieve his loss, and revenge himself on his perfidious brothers. Upon consideration, he could not guess what route they had taken, nor had he any hopes of overtaking them if he knew it; so he thought there was no remedy but patience, and taking all opportunities, by force or fraud, to make reprisals for what they had cheated him of. This practice (say they) he constantly followed as long he lived, and at his death gave a solemn charge to his children to copy his example and publish his last request to their descendants to the end of the world; and his posterity, the Africans, have faithfully obeyed the injunction ever since.

Monfieur Mouvette, who was a slave in Morocco many years, gives the following advice to such as become merchants and reside in the country.—The very day or day after they arrive, they must visit the governor, make him a handsome present, and wait on him frequently after, as the Moors are very fond of such tokens of respect; and
if

if they receive any injury, they must instantly complain, because he gets money by fining the offender; and they will thus keep the Moors and Jews in some fear of imposing on them. They must keep the governor's relations and acquaintance on their side, that they may serve them on occasion. They must never strike a Moor, nor spit at him. They must not trust to a governor's favour, for they have no affection, nor regard their promises, when any interest is in view. They must never go from one town to another, without the governor's leave; if they do, he will become their implacable enemy. They must never trust Jews with their goods under three or four sufficient sureties, because they are apt to break; and then have nothing left to pay, besides their houses and some gardens of very small value; nor must they take goods on credit, because the Jews always set down a more than they deliver, according to the maxim in vogue among them: That they will never be rich, unless they have something of other mens amongst their own. What the Jews call other men, are the Christians, Turks, Moors, and Pagans, whom they cheat with a safe conscience, provided they give some part of the gain to such of their

their own as are fallen to decay, and to keep their poor from begging. In this particular their charity is wonderful, for when a man has lost all, they will set him up three times, and if fortune still frown on him, he is maintained amongst the other poor. When Jews design to get in what they have entered on their books, they take care to pre-engage the judge, promising him half the produce of the fraud. The governors often take cloths of the merchant on credit to present to the emperor; but as their lives and fortunes are very precarious, the credit should be small. Merchants must not be familiar with slaves, because it will increase the demand for their ransom; and if any escape, they will be suspected of aiding in it, and fined thrice their value; but they may nevertheless relieve them in sickness, and administer food or clothing.

F I N I S.

ERRATA.—Page 111, last line, read *tomb of Mahomet at Medina and the temple of Mecca*.—Page 167, line 11, read *about the year 571*.—Page 226, between lines 4 and 5 from bottom, add, *54 blanquils make a xequin of gold, worth 9*.